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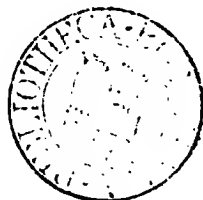
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In A.D. 574, Alboin, the King of the Longobards, was killed at the instigation of his wife, Rosamunde, the daughter of Kunimund, the last king of the Gepidæ, who had been beaten and slain in battle against Alboin. Out of the skull of Kunimund a drinking-vessel had been made, and used as such at the great festivals of the Court. At one of these feasts the intoxicated king compelled his wife to drink out of the skull of her father, which atrocity enraged her so much that she assassinated him*.

But as the skull in question is brought into connexion with East-Asiatic customs, an interesting instance may be cited from oriental writers. When Ong-khan, the chief of the Keraites, had been slain, in the year 1203, Tayanuk-khan, the chief of the Naymans, ordered the head of his late friend to be enchased in gold and silver. When, on one occasion, the head moved, as Tayanuk-khan addressed it in a jesting manner, this was regarded by the Tatars as a bad omen; and soon afterwards the Nayman chief was slain. The Persian chronicler Mirkhond says that the Nayman chief was a Butperest, or heathen, which word *But* is, without doubt, derived from Buddha †.

Major F. MILLINGEN, F.R.G.S., then read a paper "On the Koords and Armenians."

IX. *On the WESTERLY DRIFTING of NOMADES, from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century.* By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq.—Part III. The Comans and Petchenegs.

(Part II. was published in Vol. I. pp. 378–387.)

I SHALL now return to the consideration of an area much more connected with European ethnology. Here we shall meet with greater difficulties and complications. South of the Jaxartes we can with some approximation discriminate Turkish invaders from Persian settlers. They belong to two separate divisions of the human race in the classification of modern science. Religion, manners and customs, physique and language, all present features assisting the division. North of the Jaxartes, in the great deserts of the Khirgisies, and in the steppes of Little Tataria and of Siberia, we meet with much more complicating circumstances. There the difference is one of degree rather than of kind, and we only multiply difficulties in multiplying dif-

* [These "Longobards" may very well have been the descendants of the *Boii* above noticed, to whom the foundation of Bologna, Parma, Reggio, Modena, &c. is assigned.—G. B.]

† [At the Meeting of the Society on the 22nd February, 1870, Mr. Busk exhibited a second *calva*, lined with copper, which had been kindly forwarded to him by Mr. W. Lockhart; and at the same time read some additional remarks on the subject, the substance of which was derived from communications from Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Wylie, and Mr. R. Swinhoe. These will appear in the next Number of the Journal.]

ferences. Turan, the complement of Iran, is used as the collective name of a conger of clans and families rather than of races or states, all nearly related, and having common traditions. They all speak languages of the agglutinative type, and as we recede from our own times they approximate more closely to one another, and it becomes impossible to classify them rigidly.

Greatly as I respect the name of Latham (and I have some occasion to respect it), I cannot believe in the artificial weight he attaches to names and distinctions, nor in the sharply defined races which his arguments require. I believe Ugrian, Turk, and Mongol to be of much more geographical than ethnic value. If by Ugrian be meant those tribes living under hard conditions along the borders of the Frozen Sea, and having their typical idiosyncrasies in Lapland, and by Turk those prouder races which, having been frontagers of a series of civilizations in the plains of Great Tatar and Turkestan, have received from them grafts of a more energetic blood, and have had their language, manners, and appearance altered, and of whom the type is the Turkish race of the Ouigours, I am content with the classification; but between these extreme types almost every possible intermediate form exists, having more or less common features, as, for instance, the Bashkirs, who, in their indigenous name and their physical forms, are very Ugrian, while their language is *very* Turk, &c. Bearing this in mind, every one can appreciate the almost superhuman difficulty of reconciling the thousand contradictory statements of the Byzantine, and the often empirical nomenclature of the Arabian geographers, and may also find ample reason for the confusion which still reigns in this somewhat repulsive and uninviting field of ethnological inquiry. Few have traversed it with even moderate success, nor do I claim to be better than my neighbours. I have had the assistance of their ingenuity, and I have consulted every authority within my reach, among whom let me especially name the often-forgotten Strahlenberg, the plodding Zeuss, whose great work on ethnology this Society ought to translate, and the ubiquitous Klaproth; with these materials I have endeavoured to give a connected theory, on which I humbly invite criticism.

First I must say a few words about the Mongols. As is well known, they are divided by geographers into two great branches, the Mongols proper in the east and the Kalmucks in the west of Mongolistan. I have already given an account of the separation, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, of the European Kalmucks from their mother race in the little Altai, when they drove many of the Nogay hordes from between the Tobol and the Jaik before them. The Kalmucks of the Altai, known as Olöt, derive their origin from Tangout, the country

lying between the Kokonoor or Blue Lake and Tibet; nor do I see any reason to quarrel with this tradition. The date of their settlement about Lake Balkash and in Soongaria I cannot believe to have been much before the time of Zenghiz, and I believe them to have drifted hither gradually during the supremacy of the Great Mogul Khanate of Karakorum; for in the earlier wars of Zenghiz their present area was occupied by the Naymans, whose name still survives in one of the clans of the Usbegs and among the Khirgises, and who may therefore be considered to have been Turks.

If the Olöt are to be traced to the Keraites, as D'Ohnson asserts, we have another confirmation of this position. Before the time of Zenghiz, then, I hold that the Mongols were limited on the west by the present boundaries of what are known as the Mongols proper, the hordes of the forty-nine banners of the Chinese writers—that is, roughly, by the eastern frontiers of the great provinces of Chinese Turkestan, known as Thian Shan Nanloo or Little Bukharia, and Thian Shan Peloo or Soongaria—that they occupied all the country from the Chinese Wall in the south to the province of Irkutsk in the north, roaming over the great desert of Gobi, and having their chief focus in the regions around Lake Baikal. Hence they crept westward. Bar Hebraeus, who wrote in the middle of the thirteenth century, and who lived among them, places their western limit at the country of the Igurri Turcæ, and says the same Mongols conquered the Igurri and took tribute from them: these Igurri are the Ouigours of Bishbalig &c. Later on they gradually infiltrated the Khirgis deserts with their blood, and imparted the same in a smaller measure to the Nogay Tatars.

If I were asked for an opinion as to the ethnic affinities of the Mongols, I should say that they are merely the result of a mixture of Tongus with Turks, their neighbours on either hand—that on the west they fade almost insensibly by such transition tribes as the Kalmucks and the Buriats into Turkish forms, while on the other hand they do the same even more insensibly into Tongus through those tribes of the Baikal to whom the name Tatar was originally applied, the greatest affinity, no doubt, being with the latter, whose religious and social conditions they most affect.

The great provinces of Chinese Turkestan, from which we have succeeded in eliminating the Kalmucks, bounded on the north by the little Altai, on the south by Tibet, on the east by the desert of Gobi, and on the west by Great Bukharia, were known to the Arabs as Kara Kathay, or Black Kathay, either from their inferior position to Great Kathay, or China, or from their sterile aspect.

The name Kathay is derived from the Kitans or Khitans, who were known to the Chinese writers as Leao. The Kitans had been masters of Northern China from the year 907. In the year 1125 the Niu Tche, a Mantchu race, broke the power of the Kitans, and a body of them invaded Kaschgar and settled there. These were known to the Chinese as western Leao, and were the Kitans who gave their name to Kara Kathay. Their leaders only were Kitans, the soldiery was composed, like the army of Zenghiz, of Turks. They repeatedly invaded Transoxiana, and in 1171 defeated the Charizmians. Their most renowned exploit, however, if it be possible to credit the story, is their invasion of Georgia. A race still remains there (called the Chaitaki, their land Khaita or Cara Khaita) who claim descent from these Kitans. I do not see how the story is to be undermined, and should be thankful for some more information on the subject of this obscure tribe. As far as we know, they are Turks, and allied in race to the Basians.

Before the arrival of the Kitans, Chinese Turkestan was the seat of a renowned power known to the Chinese as that of the Hoe-tche, originally a clan of the horde Kao-tche, settled south of the Selinga. In 742 their Khan was acknowledged as Grand Khan by the Chinese emperor. In 745 his empire reached the Altai and the Irtysch in the west and the country of the Tunguses in the east. In 758, the same year in which the Arabs burnt Canton, there was a quarrel at the Chinese court about precedence between the embassy of this Grand Khan and that of Aboudjiasar al Mansor, second Khalif of the Abassides (De Guignes). At the end of the eighth century the empire of the Hoeitche was one of the most important in Asia. Among others, the Khirghises were subject to it.

These Hoeitche, or Goeitche, as they are also called, were, as we have seen, in contact with the Arab conquests of the Samanides; and many of them, on the frontiers of Transoxiana, adopted Mahommedanism. They are, in fact, the Turkish race known to the Nubian geographer as Odhkos, and to the various Arabians as the Gusses, of whom we have already written at length, and from whom were derived the Turkish invaders of southern Asia, the Ghaznevices, the Seljuks, &c. Their history is mixed up with that of the Ouigours or Kaotchary Turks, called by De Guignes the Cha-to, Tagazgaz by Maçoudi, and Bagargar by other Arabs. The Turkish chroniclers divide their own race into two sections, the northern and the southern, each with an eponymous hero as its ancestor: these sections are the Oghuz and the Ouigour. I have more faith in such traditions among the Turks than among any other race. In this case it is confirmed by many facts; the language of the Uzbeks and that of

the Ouigours is almost identical, and is the purest Turkish idiom known, while their habits and traditions are the same.

I am awaiting impatiently the results of M. Vambéry's examination of the remains of the Ouigour literature. At present, while we associate with the name Ouigour the typical home-grown civilization of Asia, which Zenghiz made its cultivators teach his people—while we are joined closer in sympathy with the same cultivators by the extraordinary labours among them of the early Nestorian missionaries, and by the fact of their land, and especially its town Konam-tcheou, having been the *entrepôt* where the Arab traders exchanged the products of Spain and Arabia for those of Siberia and China—while we assign to the Ouigours these glories, we must on this occasion follow them to the west in company with and in subordination to their more enterprising brothers the Hoeitche. Let us resume our story.

The Hoeitche or Gusses, although continually drifting westwards, still kept up connexions with China, and about 890 the Chinese received tribute from them. They now become celebrated in the civil strifes of the Samanides. Under Bograh Khan, in 992, they took Bokhara; he also possessed Kaschgar, Balasgoum, Khoten, Karas, and the country as far as China. He advanced as far as Georgia, and his successor Illih Il Khan was master of both Samarcand and Bokhara. In 999 the Hoeitche overturned the dynasty of the Samanides. They still paid tribute to China. We now hear of their struggles with the Khitans, and of their power crumbling away before those eastern invaders. I have already given some account of their swarming into Persia; but this was only the history of one portion. Another took the way of the Kirghis desert towards the Volga. A third stayed at home, and became, as I believe, the ancestors of the Naymans, whom I have referred to, and of the numerous Turkish races still found in Western Chinese Turkestan. The Jeteu or Geteu, of the annals of Timour and of other writers, who are placed south of the river Khujend, and in the deserts of the Khirgises, from them called Desht Jeteu, I believe with some authorities to have been merely such Turks as still remained pagans and did not submit to Islamism. Timour calls them his countrymen. Whether this opprobrious designation of heretics be the origin of the term Jut and Get in the Sikh annals I know not.

I have said that the Khitan invasion drove some of the Hoeitche to the west: these would not be likely to stay in the sandy wilderness of the Khirgises; and we accordingly find it recorded by the Arab Maçoudi that, about the beginning of the tenth century, hordes of the Gusses, a Turkish folk, wintered

on the east of the Volga (called by him the Nites), and when it froze over invaded on horseback the land of the Chazars.

The Volga, the eastern limit of Europe, was near enough to the Greeks and Russians to lead us to expect to find such an invasion (especially as it was not likely to be a mere isolated raid) mentioned in their annals; and on turning to them we find ourselves among a long series of such notices. Wherever we find the term Gusses or Gozz in the accounts of the Arabs, we have the names Uzes or Comani used by the Byzantines, the former term used with great laxity, and sometimes made to include the Petchenegs. Anna Comnena, in 1070, first uses the name Comani. De Guignes makes Comani to be a mere diminutive of Turcomani,—a very wild etymology. It is clearly derived from the river Kouma or Kuma, the country about which was known to the Persians as Kumestan, and which the Arabian Edrissi, who wrote about the end of the eleventh century, distinctly calls Al Ckomania, and adds, which gives name to the Ckomanians (Klaproth, *Travels in the Caucasus*, 155).

The *name* Comanians is therefore of small value in tracing the history of the Gusses; it is merely the appellative they derived from their situation. Nikon, the Russian chronicler, in speaking of them, says, the "Cumani, more properly Polowtzy." Another writer, quoted by Schlözer, says, "the Cumani, that is the Polowtzi." Nestor, in describing one of their invasions of the Greek empire, says Polowtzi where the Greek writers say Cumani. We thus identify the Cumani of the Greeks with the Polowtzki so celebrated in the Russian annals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Polowtzki merely means steppe-men. Rubruquis, who wrote about 1253, says, "Here [*i. e.* in the present Nogay steppe] the Comani live and feed their flocks; they call themselves *Capchat*; to the Germans they are known as Walani, and their country as Walania." Here, then, we have the indigenous name of the Comans, the name adopted by the Mogul khanate of Batou Khan, to which we have previously referred—a name still borne by Uzbek and Nogay tribes, and by a tribe of the middle horde of the Khirgises, in whose territory is a town Kaptchak and a lake Kaptchi, a distinctly Turk name, being adopted, there can be little doubt, from some noted leader; for we find Kaptchak mentioned on three or four occasions in Uzbek history as the proper name of a chieftain. The plain between the Volga and Ural was known, from such a one, as Desht Kaptchak (the desert of Kaptchak), just as it was subsequently known as Desht Bereke, from Bereke the Nogay leader. Here we have another proof, if such were needed, of our being right in tracing the Comans to the same parentage as the Uzbeks. The German appellative by which the Comans

were known is not so easy to explain. The province of Volhynia took its name from them, according to Latham. But this can hardly be so, as the name occurs much earlier than their invasion. Zeuss gives the form Falawa, and says it is the literal rendering of Polouci (*i. e.* Steppe-men). He also adds the forms Falon, Valni, Valewe, Valwen, and Walmoen. There can be little doubt that Zeuss is right.

The Comans are described by various authors as a savage race, living on flesh and drinking mare's milk and blood—the typical food of the Turkish hordes.

To this accumulated evidence we may add the best of all tests, namely, that of language. Rubruquis tells us that the language of the Jugurri (*i. e.* the Ouigours) is the original and root of the Turkish and Comanian languages. The Genoese called the language of the Turks of the Black Sea (*i. e.* of the Comana) Ugaresca (*i. e.* Onigour). When many of the Comans were driven out of their quarters by the Mongols, they fled, as we shall see, into Hungary. Here their descendants still remain: although they have forgotten their tongue and adopted Hungarian, this is only very recently; several copies of the Lord's Prayer in their language have been preserved. Lastly, Klaproth has published a very elaborate analysis of a Persian and Comanian vocabulary he discovered in the library of St. Mark at Venice. These remains are all of them purely Turkish.

The Byzantines place the first arrival of the Comani or Kiptchaks about the years 894–899, when they drove the Petchenegs from between the Ural or Jaik and the Volga. The Russians first speak of the Polowzi in 996, during the reign of Wladimir, when their prince, Wolodar, invaded Russia. They were then defeated and their king killed. From this date to the year 1229, when they occur for the last time in the Russian chronicles, the history of Russia is little more than the account of their fearful devastations, invited and assisted by the miserable squabbles of the various Russian princes. In their earlier struggles with the Petchenegs we find the Kiptchaks in alliance with the Khazars; and with them they first drove the Petchenegs across the Don. A portion of the latter, however, survived in the deserts between the Ural and the Volga; the remainder were gradually pressed westward into Hungary and on to the weak defences of the Greek empire; and the Comans gradually occupied the country north of the Euxine and the Caucasus, where they are placed by Rubruquis and De Plano Carpino. Describing the Nogay steppe north of the Crimea, the former writer says, "This whole level was, previously to the irruption of the Tartars, inhabited by the Comanians. . . . On the invasion of the Tartars a great multitude of Comanians fled to the sea-shore The whole country

from the Danube to the Tanais is more than two months' journey across, even for such swift riders as the Tartars, and is entirely inhabited by Comanians, who extend even beyond the Tanais to the Edil (Volga), a tract of ten long days' journey between the two rivers." In an old map of the year 1318, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, Comania or Chumania is the tract north of the Sea of Azof. In this tract Rubruquis mentions passing the tombs of the Comani—stately erections, pyramids and pillars, upon each of which was placed a rude figure holding a drinking-cup. Klaproth, who describes them as they still remain, doubts their having been made by the Comani. Similar erections in the same area are undoubtedly described by the Romans as having been put up by the Huns. The arrival of the Mongols broke up the Comanian power. When the former had forced their way through the Caucasus, they were opposed by an allied army of Comans and Alans. Commencing the struggle, as they invariably did, with intrigues, they detached the Comans from their alliance by claiming them as brothers and of the same kin, which they denied to the Alans. This is another proof of the ethnic affinities of the Comans; for we know that the army of Batou Khan was almost entirely composed of Turks. Having defeated the Alans separately, the Mongols, with consistent treachery, turned their arms upon the Comans. On another occasion, when Comans and Russians were allied, they attempted, but unsuccessfully, the same policy in more flattering terms, saying the Comans were their ancient slaves while the Russians were a noble, independent people. The various alliances of Comans, Russians, and Alans, however, were of little avail. The Mongol tide swept on, and the Comanians, as a *separate nation* (their capital was Soldaya), were heard of no more in the Nogay steppe. Many of them were sold by the Mongols to the family of Saladin, and became the nucleus of the Mamelukes, one of whom, called Bibars or Biberdi (a Turk name) became sultan of Egypt and concluded a treaty with the Greck emperor in 1261. Many of the Comans, however, followed in the steps of previous unfortunate nomades and made their way towards the Hungarian plains, with whose inhabitants they had had many conflicts, in two of which, in 1070 and 1089, they had been severely defeated by the Hungarians Salomo and Ladislav (see Zeuss, 'Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme'). In Hungary numbers of them settled. On the middle Theiss still remains a country called Kunsag, and people known as great and little Kumans—the former on the right, the latter on the left bank of the river. In 1410 they were converted to Christianity, and in the same century followed the trades of masons and archers (in Hungarian Jazok). They still exist to the number of 112,000 free persons, but have

entirely forgotten their language. According to Klaproth, the last who understood it was a man named Varro, who died in 1770. Remains of it, as I have said, have been preserved and proved to be clearly Turkish.

The establishment of the Mongol empire of the Kaptchak on the ruins of the Comanian power did not eradicate that race altogether; although the name Coman disappears, the name Kaptchak was adopted by the conquerors, and a vast number of the original Kaptchaks or Comans remained behind in the steppes, under the rule of the Mongols, and became the nucleus of the various Nogay hordes, the most important of whose tribes is known as Kaptchak. The name Nogay is applied to most of the wandering tribes from Bessarabia to the Kuma. Most of these have, as I believe, their genealogies rooted among the Comani, mixed, unquestionably, with a tinge of Mongol blood, and in a greater degree with the blood of earlier occupiers of the same steppes. Their main element is the same as that of the earlier Turcoman invaders of Persia, namely, that of the Gusses, the western wave of the same flood of which the Turcomans formed the southern wave—a flood caused by the dispersion of the empire of the Hoeitche in Turkestan.

Having cleared up the ethnology of the Comans, we are in a position to examine that of the Petchenegs, whom the former drove out.

Before the Coman invasion the country west of the Volga was occupied by the Khazars and the Petchenegs, the former a great and most interesting race, who long gave their names to a very wide territory—the land of Khazaria, as it is called by Maçoudi. The Petchenegs were a body of but recent origin, who were constantly fighting with the Khazars. In the earlier Coman invasions we generally find the Comans in alliance with the Khazars against the Petchenegs. Who, then, were the Petchenegs? Zeuss gives their various synonyms thus:—they were known as Patzinakitai to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Pecennatici, Pizenaci, Pincenates, Pecinei, Petinei, and Postinagi, to the western writers, Peczenjezi to the western Slaves, Bisseni to the Hungarians. Behnakye is their name in Ibn el Wardi, and Drewenses (*i. e.* woodmen, from *drew* or *derew*, a wood) in the Russian chronicles.

Strahlenberg has the ingenious suggestion that Petscheneg is derived from Petsch or Pietsch, which he says is the literal translation of 'Hund,' a dog, and connects them with the Huns. Latham suggests that the name may be the same as Peucini, so called from the island Peuke in the Danube,—not that the Petchenegs were in any way connected in blood with the Peucini of the Romans, but that the name was adopted by the invaders as Briton has been adopted by an Anglo-Saxon race.

I cannot accept either of these etymologies. Klaproth relates that when Jermak, the Cossack, attacked the Siberian Tatars on the Tawda, and they had assembled in the neighbourhood of *Patschenka*, a prince named *Petscheneg* was among the slain. This shows the name was not confined to the Petchenegs of the Danube, and shows further the probability that, like Kaptchak and Uzbeg, it was a family name of note, and adopted for that reason by the whole race, and so adopted at no distant date either; for Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us they were formerly called Kangar or Kankar, which among them means valour. The mention of *Patschenka* seems to introduce us to the typical area of the race. Snorro Sturleson mentions the Petchenegs as *Pezina* Vollhr. Sviatoslav, the Russian, we are told, was beheaded in *Petschenka* curia. Where, then, was Patschenka?

The Arabian geographer Scherif Edrissi speaks of the country of Bedschenay, and places it in the seventh part of the seventh climate, in contiguity with Bassdshirt (Baskiria). He says it was not extensive, he did not know whether they had any larger town than Banamuni, which contained many inhabitants of the race of the Turks, and that they carried on war with the Russians and the Greeks. With these scanty materials it would be impossible to dogmatize. The name by which they were known to the Hungarians is said to be the origin of the syllables Besse in Bessarabia. It is at the same time a curious coincidence that one of the Thracian tribes was also called Bessi or Bissi.

In the statement of the Emperor Constantine, already quoted, we come upon more fruitful etymologies. The Kangar can be no other than the Kangites of Carpino, the Curges and Changle of other travellers, the Cancalis so celebrated in the Ural steppe at the time of Tchinghiz—names derived by Klaproth from their invention and use of wheeled carriages, "kanek" meaning wheels. Among the names of Petcheneg tribes preserved by Constantine is the Talmat, which Strahlenberg compares with the *Talmasata* found east of the Volga in his day—another proof of the identification. The ethnic affinities of the Petchenegs are clear enough. Nikon the chronicler associates them with the Torkmeni, Tortozy, and Cumani. Ibn el Wardi calls them a Turkish race. Anna Comnena says they spoke the same language as the Comans. The Byzantines constantly confound the Comans and Petchenegs under the common name of Uzi. All these facts confirm the position of most inquirers, that the Petchenegs were a horde of Turks belonging to a previous wave of invasion to the Uzi proper, less purely Turk, I believe, and more mixed with foreign elements. Their former seats were situated at the foot of the Ural mountains; and I believe them to have been

very nearly related to the Baschkirs—a race whose language is Turk but whose blood is mixed. The name Baschkir suggests comparisons with Bessi and Bisseni of the Hungarians; and I know of no other source whence the Turkish language of the Baschkirs can have been derived, if it were not from the Petchenegs or Cancalis. The Kangli or Cancalis had been an ancient foe of the Hoeitche on the other side of the Volga. When the power of the latter became settled, the Cancalis emigrated or were forced towards the west; I believe they then drove out the inhabitants of Pascatir or Baschkir land, and caused them to migrate to Hungary; they also broke the power of the Khazars, many of whom they also drove into Hungary. The Petchenegs occupied the vacant lands, and gradually pressed westward into the woods of the Ukraine, whence they grievously afflicted the borders of the Greek empire and the Russians of Kief. With the Cumans they are described as a savage race, living on the flesh, milk, and blood of their herds; we are also told they were an inferior race to the Comans, both in numbers and in appearance, and that they had a distinctive dress. Their chief town was called Korosten or Kourostesov (*i. e.* wall of bark), also known as Nowopolci, on the river Tetera, famous for the death of Igor and the mound under which he was buried. Another of their towns was Ovroutsche, where Oleg was murdered (see Bohusz, *Recherches historiques sur l'Origine des Sarmates, &c.*, 3. xxxi. 532). We are told the Petchenegs lived in tents, that each of their eight tribes had a separate chief, and that these tribes were themselves split up into forty lesser ones. The names of these eight tribes, as given by the Emperor Constantine, are Ertem, Tzur, Gyla, Culpée, Charoboé, Talmat, Chapon, and Tzopon; they divided their conquests into eight provinces corresponding to them—four east of the Dnieper, between the Russians and the Khazars, and four west of the Dnieper, in Moldavia, Transylvania on the Bug, and the neighbourhood of Kief. The same writer places their first arrival at fifty years before his time, *i. e.* about A.D. 862. Rhegnion, who lived about 908, makes the date 889 (De Guignes). Nestor mentions them first in Russia in 915; they occur in his pages very frequently. They killed Igor in 945, and in 968 laid siege to Kief. In alliance with the Russians they made constant raids on the Greek empire. From the Petchenegs the Russians bought their oxen, sheep, and horses, their country not producing these animals. In their hands, too, was the traffic with the Baltic coast for amber, and with Novgorod for all the products of the east.

From these seats they were driven by the Comans, some into Bessarabia, some into Hungary, where the Hungarian kings

made them useful in settling them on the marchlands or frontiers of the *Theutonici*; others, again, coalescing with the Comans, became the ancestors of the Nogays. As I have already related, one of the western hordes of the Nogays is still called *Budzuch*, while one of their eastern ones retains the name of Mangut, applied to one of the divisions of the Cancalis. The Petchenegs who were left on the other side of the Volga in the great invasion, I consider were the ancestors of those Turcomans roaming between the Caspian and the Aral, known as *Karakalpacs* or *Black-caps*. Lastly, I trace to the Petchenegs also the various Turkish tribes still found in the Caucasus, called by the Georgians *Bassiani*. Klaproth reports the tradition of their elders that they were formerly settled on the steppes of the Kuma as far as the Don, and that their capital city was named *Ckirck Madshar*, represented by the ruins of *Madshar*. He has proved that its remains are entirely of a Turkish type. "At the commencement of the second century of the *Hegira* (or, according to other accounts, so late as the fourteenth century) their several princes, living in constant enmity with their neighbours, were at length expelled by them, on which they retired to the Great *Kabardaah*, whence they were in the sequel driven by the *Tscherkessians*, and being divided into detached bodies were necessitated to fix their habitations on the highest mountains, at the sources of the *Kuban Baksan* and *Tschegem*; one portion still remained on the *Malka*, and did not remove till a later period to the source of the *Tscherek*, whence it yet retains the name of *Malkar* or *Balkar*." The other Turks of the Caucasus, not included under the name of *Bassiani*, and known as *Ckaratschai*, have a similar tradition, and that they were driven from *Madshar* and into the mountains by the *Circassians*. The language of all these Turks is very like *Nogay*; and I can see no reason for doubting for a moment their traditional origin, and that they form another detached fragment of the *Cancalis*.

In conclusion, I would survey the ethnological effects of the twin invasions of these sister races, the Petchenegs and the Comans. In the first place, I believe them to have been the first Turks whom we can show to have invaded Europe. I do not deny that Turkish chieftains may have led the armies of the earlier invaders; but, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Latham and of every other authority I know, I deny to any of the previous races the characteristics of Turks. The earlier occupants of the *Nogay* steppe, the *Khazars* and the *Alans*, were, I consider, entirely different races; the materials for their ethnological distinction have been assiduously collected by *Fraehn*, *Vivien*, *St. Martin*, and *D'Ohasson*, although they have none of them, so far as I know, solved the problem.

If these races were the first Turks that invaded Europe, it follows that M. Vambéry is only very partially right in trying to trace the Hungarians to the Ouigours and other Turkish tribes. The only Turks in Hungary are the remnants of the Cancalis or Petchenegs, the Comans, and the Osmanli; and they have only affected the population in a very superficial manner, hardly so much, perhaps, as the Normans affected the English. The examination of this superficial coating cannot be more profitably done than by a careful criticism of the Turcoman hordes of the Persian border and the remains of Ouigour literature; and it is a question of very great interest; but we shall be very wild in our ethnology if we attempt to connect the main bulk of the Hungarian nation and its idiosyncracies with such an origin and cradle-land. Notwithstanding the rudeness and turbulence of Turkish nomades, we must never forget that, from their arrival on the northern and eastern borders of the Caspian till their overthrow by the Mongols, they were the main traffickers between Europe and the Persian and Indian frontier; from the Crimea to the city of Kharazm or Khiva caravans were constantly passing. I believe that they succeeded to a culture much more advanced than their own; but that of the Turkish hordes has been unnecessarily decried. The Tatars of the Crimea have remains which display no mean taste. It is a melancholy fact that both Tatars and their remains are being rapidly extinguished. Hardly any remain in Bessarabia. Thousands are now being cruelly transported from the Crimea; and if we would study the diminishing type we must travel to the distant desert of the Kuban. Yet the proverb is true enough, that when we scratch the Russian we meet with the Tatar; and we may in the marchland of the Ukraine find much that can only be explained as the heel-mark of the Polowtzian and Drewensian invaders.

REVIEW.

Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians. By JAMES BONWICK, F.R.G.S. (Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1870.)

The Last of the Tasmanians; or, The Black War of Van Diemen's Land. By JAMES BONWICK, F.R.G.S. (Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1870.)

Now that the Tasmanians have become so nearly extinct as to find their sole surviving representative in the person of an aged female, it is well that some attempt should be made to put on record a history

XXII. *On the WESTERLY DRIFTING of NOMADES, from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century.* By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq.—
Part IV. The Circassians and White Khazars.

(Part III. was published in this volume, pp. 83-95.)

By tracing back the various lines of migration, we have at length succeeded in eliminating from the ethnography of Europe and Southern Asia a most perplexing and, in many respects, preponderating element. We have pushed back the Turks beyond the Volga and the Oxus. Their history in that further region, which forms the typical Turkestan, I hope to trace out in a future paper. At present I must commence to make good my rash proposition, that the Petchenegs were the first Turks that crossed the Volga. I call it rash, because it is directly at issue with the conclusions of Dr. Latham, the most patient and careful of English ethnologists, and because it involves a position which, so far as I know, is entirely new.

The northern flanks of the Caucasus form, in my opinion, one of the best ethnological barometers that we possess. Its many races are the waifs and strays of invasions that have swept by and through the great marching-ground of all western invaders, the Steppes north of the Caspian Sea and the Euxine. Each body of invaders who has occupied these plains has left a portion of its race behind, which remnants have been pressed forward into the mountains by succeeding invaders. Thus if we peel the mountains, as it were, and remove the successive layers of population that occupy them, we shall have a series representing, not unfaithfully, the various tribes and races which have occupied Southern Russia.

According to Maçoudi, when the Gusses crossed the Volga, they entered the land of Kazaria. The Khazars, in the pages of Byzantine, Arabian, and Russian authorities, were the precursors of the Gusses, or Comans, and the Petchenegs. Our inquiry therefore commences with the Khazars. Who were the Khazars? One mistake by one author may divert the reasoning on a whole science into a vicious and wrong channel. No better example of this fact can be chosen than the case of the Khazars. Ebn Haoucal's Geography, which was written in 976-7, was translated into English by Sir Wm. Ouseley. His statements about the Khazari, with whom he was contemporary, are of course of the highest value. Sir Wm. Ouseley has unfortunately mistranslated the most important passage, and his mistranslation has been followed by English inquirers. Long ago, the greatest authority on this branch of Arabian literature, Fraehn, in his "*De Chazaris, Excerpta ex scriptoribus Arabicis,*" published in the Memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy, called

attention to and corrected this mistake; and the question has been ably discussed by Vivien St. Martin. There can no longer be the slightest doubt that Sir Wm. Ouseley gave the exact reverse of the meaning of the passage. Ebn Haoucal says the Khazars differed entirely in their language from the Turks. Ouseley made him say they were like the Turks in language. The term Turk is used by Ebn Haoucal in a more limited sense than by many of his Byzantine and Arabian contemporaries, who apply it indiscriminately to the Hungarians, Bulgarians, and to all the various Nomades of the Steppes, in an almost equivalent manner with the ancient term Scyth. Ahmed ben Fozlan also says that the Khazar tongue differs from the Persian and Turk. The Khazars, as we shall presently see, differed from the Turks entirely in their *physique*, their religion, and their manners, as they did, according to Ebn Haoucal, in their more important ethnological *differentiæ*, as in their language. If they were not Turks, what were they? I cannot believe that a race, so very important as they were for three centuries, should have been wiped out without leaving a trace behind. Let us appeal, experimentally only, to our ethnological barometer, the flanks of the Caucasus.

In a previous paper I have shown that the Nogays, and other so-called Tartar hordes of the Kuban and the Caucasus, are the descendants of the Petchenegs and Gusses. If we remove the Nogays, therefore, from our map, we shall perhaps meet with some clue. The layer of population which lies immediately beyond the Tartars is that of the Circassians. What, then, is the history of the Circassians? This question involves a very difficult answer, if we are to be guided by orthodox text-books. It is not denied that the Circassians are, and have been, as long as tradition reaches back, the masters and leaders of the Caucasian Tartars, of the Ossetes, and of their other neighbours, supplying the princely and governing caste to all the northern Caucasus. Yet we are taught to believe that these Circassians have no history, properly so called, and that we must be content to trace them, perhaps, in the Zychians &c. of the Greek writers. I cannot believe such a position to be well founded. Let us trace them back in some detail. First, we must limit the term Tscherkessian, or Circassian, to the inhabitants of the two Kabardahs, and the Circassians proper of the mountains, described in detail by Klaproth, under their various tribal names of Beslenie, Muchosch, Abasech, Kemurquáhe, or Tenurgoi, Hattiquáhe Attigoi, or Hattukai, Bsheduch, Schapschik, Shana, or Shani, and Schegakeh. I exclude entirely the Abassians, or Abkhassians, classed, I know not on what authority, by Dr. Latham with the Circassians, but most sharply distinguished

from them by Klaproth. These latter have Circassian princes, and have a few customs and words in common with their masters, otherwise they are very distinct, and are really the remnants of the occupants of the Circassian area before the arrival of the Circassians.

Having thus limited the name Circassian to the Kabardiens and the Circassians proper of the mountains, let us turn to their history. First, the Kabardiens; the name is as old as the days of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, as applied to a large division of the Circassian nation. As applied to the district now occupied by Kabardiens, it is much more recent. Their ancient seats were among the Beschtau, or Five Mountains, the most northern spurs of the Caucasus, when in the sixteenth century, in the quaint language of Klaproth's translator, "The Tscherkessians, weary of everlasting war, at length abandoned the Beschtau, or the Five Mountains, and removed nearer to the Terek, where they settled on the river Baksan, in the Russian territory. They had then at their head two princes, the brothers Kabarty-Bek, who, quarrelling on account of this change of abode, parted, and divided the Tscherkessian nation between them. The elder remained on the river Baksan, but the younger, with his followers, proceeded to the Terek, and thence afterwards arose the division of their country into the Great and Little Kabardah. The princes and usdens (nobles) of the nation professed Mohammedanism, but the mass of the people and the peasants were Christians of the Greek persuasion, and had churches and orthodox priests among them." This story of Klaproth's, obtained by him apparently from the Count Potocki, is so reasonable, and happened within such a recent period, that it may well be accepted. It is confirmed by the traditions of the Basians, who relate that they occupied the Kabardahs before the Circassians, and were driven into the mountains on the arrival of the latter. The subsequent history of the Kabardiens is easily accessible; it would not assist us in our present inquiry.

Jehosaphat Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador to the Persian court in 1474, calls the present Kabardah by that name, according to Klaproth. This somewhat antedates the arrival of the Kabardiens. It may be a mistake of Barbaro; for in 1497, in a map made by Fredutio of Ancona, found in the library of Wolfenbuttel, the name Cabardi stands somewhat west of the present Tajanrog. Here it is also found nearly two centuries earlier (about 1312) in some manuscript maps preserved at Vienna; in the latter it is spelt Cabari. The upper part of the river Belbek in the Crimea is known as the Kabarda. Lastly, Constantine Porphyrogenitus places the Cabari on an

island at the mouth of the Kuban. So much for the Kabardiens.

Since the Russian extension into the Caucasus, the Circassians of the mountains have been driven much further to the south. Many of their tribes lived formerly on the Kuban. The island of Thaman and the whole coast of the Black Sea, as far as Anapa, was in their possession. They then used to go in numerous caravans to the lakes between Kislär and Astrachan to fetch salt. Georgio Interiano, who wrote in the fifteenth century, places their northern limit at the Don. We have already said that a river in the Crimea is called Kabarda.

In that peninsula, situated between the rivers Katscha and Belbek, is a tract known as Tscherkess-Tüs, or the Plain of the Tscherkessians; there are also the ruins of a castle, called by the Tartars Tscherkess-kjermän. It is well known that the capital of the Cossacks of the Ukraine was known as Tscherkesh, a name also adopted by the Cossacks of the Don for their capital. In the Russian annals the Cossacks are frequently referred to under the name Tscherkessians. In 1500 Agatscherkess is named as a chief of the Azof Cossacks. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, the Nogays still call the whole country between Kabardah and the Katscha, Therkestus (*vide* Pallas, i. 392). All these facts show how wide-spread and important the Tscherkessian name was in southern Russia and the plains of the Kuban, before the Mongol supremacy. But our evidence is not yet finished. The name Tscherkess has been held by Klaproth to be a Turk gloss, compounded of "Tcher," a road, and "Kesmek," to cut off, meaning a cutter-off of roads, *i. e.* a brigand. Whether this be so or not, I cannot look upon the name Tscherkess as an ancient one in the Caucasus, nor can I see any evidence, save a similarity of sound, for identifying it with the Kerkites of the ancients. To the Ossetes and Mingrelians, the Tscherkessians are known as Kassack, and the Ossetes have a tradition that the Kabardiens were so called before the emigration from the North. We thus get an explanation of the term Kasachia of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

We also get the origin of the Cossack name. The Cossacks (although of Polish and Russian descent), and more especially the Cossacks of the Don, have many customs in common with the Circassians, and succeeded to the name as well as policy of their predecessors, the Kassacks, or, as they are called by Nestor, the Kassogi. The name Kassack appears for the first time in Cons. Por. and had apparently very limited use. We must search for the Tscherkessians under some *other* name if we are to find them in the pages of the earlier Byzantines and the Arab geographers. With both these latter the name Khazar is by far

the most important in these regions, in the eighth and two following centuries. The Caspian was known as the Chazarian Sea; the plains west of the Volga as the land of Khazaria, while the same name was more particularly applied to the Crimea. As the name Khazar gradually disappears, the name Tscherkessian predominates. They both occupied the same area, and we are led to the inevitable result that they were the same people under two names; the more so, as, especially in the case of the Crimea, the Circassians are the only race we know whose early history is compatible with their being the descendants of the Khazars, all the Turkish tribes being excluded from such a claim, as we showed in starting. This very reasonable position is abundantly corroborated by other evidence. Thus the Circassians have a tradition that they were formerly the masters of the Nogays; the Nogays, as we have shown in another paper, are chiefly the descendants of the Comans or Gusses. In the accounts we have of the earlier struggles of the Comans, we generally find them fighting in alliance with the Khazars. With the Khazars they invaded the Russian and Petchenegian territory. When Klaproth went to the Caucasus he was furnished with a long list of names of the Polowzian or Comanian invaders of Russia, preserved in the chronicles. They were always the names of leaders or chieftains: these names had been a puzzle to previous inquirers. They were clearly not Turkish; no such names are found among the Nogay hordes. Klaproth, to whose pages I refer the credulous for proofs, found that with very few exceptions these same names are still the names of princely families in Circassia, and that they are confined to the Circassians. This chain of argument seems to me to be complete, nor could a more crucial test be chosen. My only wonder is that Klaproth never fell upon the notion that the Khazars were the ancestors of the Circassians: the more so, as the fact is attested by still clearer evidence if need be, namely, the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who mentions the Cabari as one of the tribes of the Khazars, and even as the chief tribe, to which the predominance was willingly allowed. These Cabari can be no others than the Kabardi and Kabari of later writers.

The only vestige remaining of the language of the Khazars, in the shape of a gloss, is the name of their capital, Sarkel, which, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, means the "white dwelling." Sarghili in Hungarian would mean "yellow place." Klaproth says that in the Vogul dialect and in western Siberian, sar, sarni, sorni, and sairan mean "white." In many Samoyede compounds the same word is found, as syr, sirr, and siri. Among them a house is called kell, kella, kuel, koual, kal; among

the Tchuvash, kil. The significance of this derivation will appear in a future paper.

The Arab geographers Ebn el Ethir and Schems-ud-din respectively connect the Khazars with the Georgians and the Armenians. This sufficiently distinguishes them from the Turks, and is no bad guess at some of their superficial relations, if they were Circassians. That the Khazars were very distinct from the Turks physically is perhaps best proved by the fact that the Russian princes and the Byzantine grandees chose their wives (one of whom was the mother of Leo the Khazar, who succeeded to the imperial throne in 758) from among them; and so common was this practice, that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Chesterfield of his day, severely warned his son against such a pernicious example. Here, again, we are reminded of the popularity of Circassian beauties even in our own day, and can only credulously smile when we find the Khazar brides identified with the ancestors of the repulsively ugly Nogay women.

This accumulation of facts seems to me overwhelming. On the other side we have only the dictum of Zeuss, supported by the statement that the titles in use among the Khazars, such as Bec or Beg, Khan or Khacan, &c., are Turkish. Now Bec or Beg is unquestionably found as a particle in Circassian names. Khacan or Khan is a title common to the Bulgarians, Avars, and Russians, and is the same as the Norse Hacon. Nor do I know of a tittle of evidence for making them peculiarly Turkish glosses.

That the Khazars had no Turkish blood in them I will no more affirm than I would make the same assertion of the Circassians. The Khazars were constantly in alliance with the Turkish Gusses, in the forays made by the latter upon the Russians and the Petchenegs; and further, the body-guards of the Khazarian princes were formed, as those of the Arab emirs of Transoxiana were, of Turkish mercenaries. In the case of the Khazars these were known as Larssiyes, a name very ingeniously compared by D'Ohason with Alars, a tribe of the Kaptchaks, according to Schems-ud-din. These Turks must in both cases have corrupted the language and race materially. But such corruptions can no more make either Khazars or Circassians Turks than Anglo-Saxon corruptions make North Wales into a German-speaking province.

The name Khazar has received many etymologies. Strahlenberg made it identical with the Hungarian Huzzar or Hussar. I think it very probable the latter may be derived from the former. Chazar in Slave means an emigrant, according to Bohucz. The Persians called all the Sunnites, or followers of Ali, Chadshars; the term Chadshar, therefore, with them is equivalent to that of heretic with us, and Klaproth derives from it the

German term for heretic, "Ketzer." The Lesgs call the Jews Ghusar, which is their way of pronouncing Khazar. Ouseley translates Khazrians by Christians. The Chinese mention a western people called Kosa. Vivien St. Martin connects them with the Katiars of Herodotus and the Cotieri of Pliny, Scythian tribes. Whatever the value of these suggestions, it is more to our purpose to know that the Khazars were divided into two sections by the Arabian geographers,—the Black Khazars and the White Khazars, distinguished by very marked peculiarities, the former situated to the north of the latter. These divisions correspond, as Zeuss, Schlätzer, and Thunmann have already pointed out, to the Black and White Ughres of Nestor, the former of whom were the Hungarians or Magyars. They correspond also, as I believe, to the Black and White Huns of other writers. The White Huns, or Epthalites, of Priscus (on whom Vivien St. Martin has written an elaborate essay, which I have not been able to procure) were, as is well known, the invaders who overran Transoxiana about the sixth century, and formed a considerable power there. They were, I believe, the Khazars, who at a later date (819–820) were assisted by the Khorasmiens against the Turks of Khorassan, and converted by them to Islamism, as related by D'Ohsson from Ebn el Ethir. This identification is very important. These White Huns must have come from the Khirghiz desert. Even Dr. Latham, whose Turcophobia is so pronounced, allows that the Khirgises are, in name and in many respects, other than Turks, though their language is unquestionably Turkish. I believe with him that Khirgis, a mere form of the ancient Kergis or Kerkis, is the same word as Circassian or Tscherkessian; the more so, as the Khirgises, like the Tscherkessians, are known as Kseks or Kassaks. I believe also that the almost simultaneous invasion of Transoxiana and Europe by the Khazars was a consequence of their being driven out of their native country by Turkish invaders. That native country called Bersilia by Theophanes and others, I can find no room for anywhere, except in the Khirgiz steppe, where it is actually placed by Moses of Chorene (*vide infra*). Before this invasion the Khazars occupied the country north and north-west of the Aral and the Caspian, and the Turks were confined to more eastern and northern regions, the Altai and the banks of the Irtysch.

We may now trace out rapidly the history of the Khazars, for which the Arabs and the Byzantines have left us abundant material. I shall not discuss the traditional and other early invasions of the Caucasus by the Khazars mentioned by the Armenian historian Moses of Chorene, and in the Georgian annals, because it is very doubtful if the exploits of some other race have not been credited to the Khazars, and because we are

going somewhat beyond our subject (already involved enough) in discussing them. I shall commence with Theophanes, who is the first Byzantine who clearly mentions them, and describes the part they took in the invasion of Persia by Heraclius in 626, when they forced the Caspian Gates, and entered Adjerbaidjan. This temporary foray was followed by a general invasion in the reign of Constantine III., between the years 642-688, when leaving the land of Berzilia, and driving the Bulgares before them, they occupied the plains east of the Don, as far as the Euxine. Batbaia, one of the princes of the Bulgares, was made tributary. The country Berzilia has been a puzzle to most geographers. Herodotus names the Katiars with a people he calls Basiliens (Royal Scyths). Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy all mention them. Moses of Chorene, in the fifth century, says the Volga divides itself into sixty branches, on which is settled the Barsileen nation. We cannot be wrong in placing Berzilia in the Kirghiz steppe, east of the Volga. The relations of the Royal Scyths of Herodotus with the Circassians, through the intermediate links of the White Huns of Claudian and the Acatziri of other authors, is a promising subject, which we must postpone to another occasion.

The Khazars speedily made tributary the neighbouring Russian tribes, as appears from Nestor, and made incessant incursions into Armenia and the other appanages of the caliphs south of the Caucasus, which are detailed by D'Ohsson.

At the demand of the Khan of the Khazars, the emperor Theophilus sent engineers, in 834, to build a fortress on the Don, as a protection against the Petchenegs. This was the celebrated Sarkel, known to the Russians as Belaia Wess. Lehrberg has fixed the situation of Sarkel about seventy versts from the mouth of the Don. Another of their towns was Phanagoria or Tamatarkha. In the tenth century their territory was bounded on the south by the Caspian and the last spurs of the Caucasus; on the west by the Don, which separated them from the Petchenegs, by the Mæotis and the Cimmerian Bosphorus; on the north by the Bulgarians of Great Bulgaria on the Volga; and on the east by the Baschkirs and Gusses. Such are the limits fixed by D'Ohsson; but from the first invasion of the Khazars they must have occupied the flat country of the Crimea, which was known as Khazaria down to the times of the Genoese supremacy at Kaffa. The previous masters of the peninsula had been a remnant of the Goths. These were now driven into the mountains, where their stronghold was known as Kastron Gothia to the middle-age writers. We are told that in the reign of Constantine the sixth (780-797) the Gothic Bishop St. John Parthenites had to flee for having attempted to detach the Goths from their subjection

to the Khazars. South of the Kuban, the Alans long contested the supremacy of the Khazars, but like the Gusses and the Petchenegs they had to submit to the superior energy and perhaps culture of the Khazars. The power of these latter seems to have been effectually broken by the great Russian conqueror, Sviatoslav, who overran their country and took their capital, Sarkel. Thenceforward the Gusses seem to have gradually gained ascendancy. The Khazar nation was divided into two sections, one in the Crimea, the other pressed beyond the Kuban; the former retained the old name, came into constant contact with the Genoese, and became the ancestors of the Kabardiens, whose emigration we have already mentioned; the latter began to appear in the Russian annals under the new name of Kassogues, perhaps so called from their chief tribe, for we are told by Constantine Porphyrogenitus that one of the tribes of the Khazars was called Kosa. So late as 1226, the Khazars formed the van of the Georgian armies in their invasions of Persia. We have thus traced the history of this extraordinary race, and, I think, succeeded in proving their connexion with the Circassians. In conclusion, I would give, from Fraehn's '*Extracts de Chazaris*,' a few particulars about the manners and customs &c. of the Chazars.

Ibn Fozlan, who wrote about 921, A.D., Ibn Haukal, about 976-977, Maçoudi, about 943-947, and Yakout, about 1220, are the chief authorities made use of by Fraehn. From these I take the following :—

The Khazars differed entirely from the Turks, the Persians, and the Russians in language. Their language was the same as that of the Bulgarians. In their appearance they also differed from the Turks. There were two kinds of Khazars: one, the Black Khazars, of a dark colour almost approaching that of the Indians; the other of a fair complexion, and a handsome and distinguished look (both kinds had black hair). The idolaters among the Khazars sold their children into slavery, and held it right to make one another slaves; the Christians and Jews among them held this to be wrong. Their king was a Jew; the Khazars themselves were Mahommedans, Christians, and idolaters; a few, like their king, were Jews. The soldiers were chiefly Mahommedans. According to Ibn el Asir they formerly followed the religion of their ancestors, *i.e.* idolatry. In the eighth century, and during the reign of Haroun al Raschid, the Jews were expelled from the Greek empire; finding the Khazars a tractable race, they converted them, but some time after they became subject to the Khorassan Turks. Having sought assistance from the Chorezmiens against these Turks, the latter offered their assistance conditionally on the Khazars embracing Islamism,

which most of them did. Thus does the Arabian historian relate the conversion of the Khazars.

The king of the Khazari was called Khakan, or the great Khakan; he was a mere *roi fainéant*, kept in rigid seclusion; he was shown on particular occasions, and held more the position of the Dalai Lama than that of an ordinary ruler. He had twenty-five wives and sixty concubines. These wives and concubines lived in a separate house, known as the Kubba; each one had a eunuch to wait on her.

When the king went out on horseback, he was attended by all his army, who kept off the vulgar gaze. His throne was a rich erection of gold and hangings; his commands were held so sacred that any one turning his back on any commission appointed by him had his head taken off. He was not allowed to reign more than forty years, and when that limit was reached he was strangled, or allowed to commit suicide. Occasionally, in times of dire calamity, the king was required to sacrifice himself for the people. The same story is told about him that is told of Attila, and doubtless true in both cases, that on his death a palace was built in the bed of a river, and his corpse placed inside, and the river then diverted over it, those who took part in the erection being all killed. His unknown resting-place they called Paradise. They held it safe from the attacks of men or worms. The Khacan of the Khazars was held in high esteem at Byzantium. He was addressed as the most noble and illustrious Khacan of Khazaria. Letters addressed to him were sealed with seals of the value of three solidi, while those on the letters to the most illustrious European potentates were sealed with seals of the value of two solidi only. We have said that the Khacan of the Khazars was a mere *roi fainéant*.

The real ruler (he who commanded the army, made peace and war, and was *de facto* the king, although nominally only a vicarial sovereign) was known as the Khacan-bh (Khacan bey?), or simply the Khan. Such was Ziebil, who assisted Heraclius against the Persians. Next to him was one called Kender Chakan; next to him again, another, who bore the title of Tschaüs-chian. These great dignitaries alone had audience of the sacred king, the great Khacan. The body-guard of the king consisted, as we have said, of Turkish mercenaries, called Larssiyés; they were 7000 in number, all armed with bows and lances, equipped in helmets, in cuirasses, and coats of mail (compare this with the modern Circassian uniform). Russians and pagan Slaves also formed a portion of the Khazar army. Justice was administered at Itil, the capital of Khazaria, by seven judges: two Mahomedans administered the law of the Prophet, two Khazars that of the Hebrews, and two Christians that of the Gospel. The seventh

for the Slaves, the Russians, and other pagans judged by the law of nature. In difficult cases the latter consulted the Mahometan cadhis, and was ruled by their decisions. The king was in constant communication with the judges.

Security of property and ample justice, we are told by the Arab authorities, led to the settlement at Itil of a great number of merchants, as many as 10,000. Copper and silver were both found in Khazaria; but its chief wealth consisted in its being the entrepôt of a vast trade: honey, wax, the roe of the sturgeon, and furs, especially otter-skins, passed this way from Russia and Bulgaria to Persia, and no doubt the products of Persia and the East returned by the same route. Itil itself was a large city of wooden houses, containing thirty mosques and a large cathedral, with schools attached. Besides Itil, the Arabs describe three other cities of the Khazars,—Belendscher, Semender, and Chamidsch; the Georgian chronicles have several more; but this will suffice. It will be seen, even from our meagre relation, that the Khazars were a people highly advanced in the arts, a people with an ancient civilization, with customs, such as those attaching to their king, pointing to an old history. We have brought them from beyond the Volga, we must follow them there on another occasion. It must suffice us now to have proved them to have been the ancestors of the Circassians, to have brought the latter isolated race into more close connexion with the history of Eastern Europe, and to have somewhat simplified the tangled subject of the ethnology of the Caucasus.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Meneam.—This people of cannibals, among whom Dr. Livingstone in his last letter announced that he was about to take his course, and whom he stated to be, on native authority, notorious cannibals, are the Niam Niam or Nya Nyas, the people in the western ranges of the district of the Nile. Livingstone has either carried out that intention, or, from fear of the Nya Nyas, he has sought to return by the course of the Congo, and may thus have exposed himself to the misfortune alleged to have befallen him.—HYDE CLARKE.

Turkish "Know" and "Sow."—In Turkish *cognoscere* and *scire* are distinguished, being respectively *tanemek* and *bilmek*. *Sow* and *Sew* are represented by one verb, *dikmek*.—HYDE CLARKE.

XLI. *On the WESTERLY DRIFTING of NOMADES, from the Fifth to the Nineteenth Century.* By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq.—Part V. The Hungarians.

(Part IV. was published in this volume, pp. 182–192.)

THE ethnological position of the Hungarians is now too well fixed to admit of any new theories on the subject. M. Vambery has, indeed, made some vague announcements that the question is by no means settled, and has even thrown out hints that he expects to find his ancestors among the Ouigours of Bishbalik, the most cultured race of the Turks; and that it was with the object of making such a race-pedigree that he set out on his voyage to Turkestan, which has yielded so many picturesque chapters to our stores of adventurous travels. But such a theory is Quixotic in the extreme. The Turkish ingredient in the Hungarian population, consisting of the various hordes of Petchenegs and Comans which it has absorbed, may perhaps be traced to such a source; but these are the merest surface-washings of the race, the great bulk of which, as has long been known, is not Turk at all, but Ugrian. In tracing out its early history we may be able to fix rather more accurately its exact position among the Ugrian races.

We will commence, as usual, with an examination of the various synonyms by which the race is known. They have been collected by Zeuss in his '*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*,' his chapter on the Ungri in that work being particularly full and interesting. The Ungri and Ungari of the western writers, and the Ouiggroi of the Byzantines, are both derived from the Slavic Ugri. Ugri is the form in Nestor; Uhry, Wcgry, and Wengri in other authors. In Russian, Ugor or Ugr means an *eel*; thence Zeuss derives Ugra, the name of a river near Oka, the province Ugra (Yugra of Nestor), the Yugoria of later writers—a province reaching the Arctic Sea, east of Archangel, whose inhabitants are called Yu-griczi by the Russian Chroniclers, Ugri and Ugari by Sabinus.

The Hungarians are known to themselves as Magyars. Mogerii is the form the name takes in the pages of the notary Bela: he also gives the forms Deutumoger and Hetumoger. Some of the Byzantines give it as Magaroi, others as Mazaroi and Matzroi. The Arabs call them Madscher. This name is apparently identical with Megere, the most important of those Chazar tribes which, according to Constantine, broke off from their own people and joined the Turks (*i. e.*, with him, the Hungarians). By many of the Byzantines they are very loosely called Turks; by others, almost as loosely, Huns.

Let us follow the migration of the Hungarians. "The Scy-

thian region is divided into three parts—that is to say, Bostardia, Deutia, Magaria" (Thwroc). Carpino says, "the Bastarque, that is great Hungary;" "Baschart or Pascatir, which is great Hungary." Rubruquis tells us, "the language of those of Pascatir and of the Hungarians is the same." "The country of Pascatir, whence formerly came the Huns, who were afterwards called Hungarians" (Berg). Such is the burden of the travellers' accounts of the thirteenth century. It is abundantly confirmed by the accounts of those more competent to speak, namely the various Arabian geographers. Yacout, Cazvin, as well as Macoudi, speak of the Hungarians under the name Baschardes. Ibn Haoucal speaks of two nations of the Baschkhartes:—one at the extremity of the *east* (*vide* D'Ohasson 'Peuples du Caucase,' 257), near the Bulgarians, to whom they are subject; the other more numerous near the Batchenakes (Petchenegs). The historians of the Mongols, Alai-ed-din and Raschid-ed-din, in relating the conquest of Hungary by Batou Khan in 1241, call it Baschcardia. These authorities are sufficient to prove to us that the Hungarians came from the Baschkir country, namely the present government of Orenburg, and that they were the Baschkirs of the eighth century. The present Baschkirs, I need hardly say, show few traces of such an origin in their language; in the main this, as well as many of their characteristics, is Turk; but their *physique* betrays a cross at least of Ugrian blood, while, as Dr. Latham remarks, they are called Ishtaki (Ostiaks) by some of their neighbours—another link in such connexion.

I have already remarked in a previous paper on the Petchenegs, that I consider the present Baschkirs to be in a great measure their descendants. Before the arrival of the Petchenegs and the Thiukiu or Turks proper, the Baschkirs were not Turks. Relics and fragments of the previous layer of population are still found in the Orenburg country: they are known as Vogulitzzi, or simply Voguls. The Voguls still are, almost exactly what the first Hungarians are described to have been, most expert hunters and fishermen.

Listen to the eloquent description of them by Dr. Latham. "They are at the same time hill-men and foresters; for they lie within the northern limit of the fir and birch . . . They are a comfortless, undersized, ill-developed population . . . From four to eight cabins constitute a Vogul village; and these lie from ten to fifteen miles apart, the uncleared forest lying between. They have adopted a little agriculture from the Bashkirs. The winter hut of the Vogul is small, close, and smoky; the summer cabin made of the boughs and rinds of the birch-tree. He hunts on foot: even the dog is a rare companion; the elk is the chief beast for sustenance, and the sable for trade. Obdorsk, at the

mouth of the Obi, is the trading town of the Voguls; their hair is black or brown, seldom yellow or red; the beard scanty; the skin glabrous and pale; the cheekbones project; the face broad and flat." Their traditions point to an emigration from the west, from the Yug, and the Dwina, which, as Dr. Latham says, probably only means that they formerly extended over a much larger area, and that their limits have been curtailed. Their language is the nearest of any known tongue to the Magyar. Oerdik, the Magyar Devil, is the Ostiak Ortik, an evil demon. Lastly, the Voguls were known to the Siranian merchants as Yograyess, which is equivalent to the Ughres of the Russian chroniclers. All these facts make it clear that the Voguls are the descendants of the old stock whence the Hungarians were derived, the inhabitants of Pascatir, whose language was declared to be like the Hungarians' by Ruysbrock. Vogul is a name they derive from the river on which they are settled; they are the western branch of the race known as Ostiaks (also from the name of a river, the Ob, which, according to Dr. Rönnay, is known in their language as the Asz). They make no distinction between themselves and the Ostiaks, and call both by the same name, Mausi or Maucsi. This race, I hold, in common with most modern ethnologists, extended over all the present Baschkir area before the arrival of the Turks. It was known to some of the Russians as the Black Khozar race. It was bounded on the south by the Khozars or Khazars, more properly so called, the White Khazars of the Russians, who inhabited the border of the Caspian, and the Steppe of the Kuban; with these last it had relations of blood and language,—proved by the etymology of their capital Sarkel, which, as Klaproth has shown, is a Vogul and Ostiak gloss; proved also by the fact that they are said to have spoken the Hungarian (Turk of Constantine) language as well as their own, which among rude races means probably that the languages were cognate. West of the Hungarians, when in their seats on the Volga, were the White Bulgarians, identified by Carpino with the Mordvins and Bileres. The Arabs tell us the Khazars spoke the same language as the Bulgarians. We know the Mordvins and Voguls are only branches of one race. This reasoning would make the Circassians and Hungarians nearer relatives than they have been heretofore held to be, if, as I have tried to show in a previous paper, the Khazars are to be identified with the Circassians. In describing the Cabari, a tribe of the Khazars, Constantine mentions several facts which have been overlooked by ethnologists, and which would explain in a measure how a race of mere fishermen and hunters, such a race as the Voguls now are, were enabled to tramp over two-thirds of Europe, and to defeat its most renowned soldiers. Such an

event would seem to be impossible, unless these fishermen were led by a caste of warriors very superior to the Voguls and Ostiaks. Constantine tells us that a civil war arose among the Khazars, and that one portion of them was conquered. Of these, a section fled to the Turks in the Patzinacitan territory (i. e. to the Hungarians), and settled among them, and, having contracted a mutual friendship, were called Cabari. They taught the Turks the language of the Khazars, they also used the other language of the Turks. As they excelled the eight other tribes in strength &c., they held the first place, and one of the Cabari was prince of those tribes in his day. In another chapter he tells us that the tribes that broke off from the Khazars were the Cabari, the Nece, the *Megere*, the *Cuturgurmati*, the Tarcani, the Genach, the Care, and the Case. Apparently all these tribes are spoken of in other places under the general name Cabari. The Cabari, as we have elsewhere shown, were the ancestors of the Kabardi, in later times the most important division of the Circassians. It would appear, then, that the Ougres, Ogors, or Hungarians, were really led and governed by a caste of foreigners, whose warlike skill and talent we may assume, from their descendants' wars with Russia, to have been very considerable. We may well believe that this dominant caste was the source of the chief families in the country, just as the Norsemen were the ancestors of the best blood in Russia and Poland. One of its tribes, the *Megere*, seems to have given its name to the race; for I know of no other origin for the name Magyar. Every other etymology suggested by the latest writers appears to me unsatisfactory. About the same period the Scandinavian Russians were giving a name to the first power among the Slaves—a valuable parallel in many respects. Thus the Magyars were a dominant caste of foreigners, comparatively highly cultured, who effectually subdued the more numerous Ogors. Thus also, as in the case of the Russians, the culture remained, the chivalrous spirit remained, and so did many customs that carry us to the mountains of Circassia: but the language was absorbed as, in another parallel case, the Mandchou language has been absorbed by the Chinese. Perhaps (and I have very high authority for the statement, though I am not at liberty to mention it) the Hungarian language contains a very considerable element which may be correlated with Circassian; and thus my position is considerably strengthened. We will now trace out rapidly the earlier history of the Hungarians.

The Turks proper, the Thukiu of the Chinese writers, first came into contact with the Romans about the year 569. Having conquered the Avares and other nations of Central Asia, their Khan had acquired the rank of Grand Khan, and their race had

spread out in all directions over the Kirghiz steppes. They now sent an embassy to Rome to try and open a trade in silk and other Eastern produce with the West. This embassy was well received by Justin II., and an account of it is given by Menander. In reply to it, Zemarchus was sent as ambassador by Justin to the Turkish camp, on the Irtysch. He was entertained in a most imperial fashion, had a Kerkes slave presented to him, and returned home by the Kiptchak steppe and the northern shores of the Caspian, and, on crossing the river Volga, entered the country of the Ogours. These Ogours have been confounded by Zeuss with the Turkish Ouigour of Bishbalig; they were, in fact, the Ughres or Hungarians. They were subjects of the Khan of the Turks; and it was doubtless for this reason the Hungarians were called Turks by the Greeks at a later day. Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us, the Hungarians (by him called Turks) formerly dwelt near the Chazars, in a place called Lebedias; then, he says, they were not called Turks but Sabartioiasphali. Zeuss ingeniously conjectures that the first syllables are equivalent to the German *swart*, *schwarz*, "black;" and that the whole word is a translation of the Slavic *Czernii Ugri*, Black Ugri, by which the Hungarians are known in later Russian writers. For details of what follows I must refer to the next papers in this series, on the Avars and Bulgarians. Here it will suffice to say that, when the power of the Turks in Western Asia was broken, the Khazars succeeded to their supremacy in the regions north of the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, and the Hungarians became their subjects. White and black, as is well known, means, with Eastern writers, little more than dominant and dependent; thus the Black Khazars, or Hungarians, were the subjects of the White Khazars. The former seem to have spread westwards very considerably on the decay of the power of the Great Bulgarians in the seventh century, and to have occupied their seats east of the Don on their great migration to Bulgaria beyond the Danube. From these seats they were apparently driven by the Petchenegs—driven across the Don into the country called Lebedias, so called, says Constantine Porphyrogenitus, from their first voivode, who was named Lebedias. This country is watered, he says, by the river Chingylus. This river, Zeuss identifies with the Ingul, one of the tributaries of the Bug.

Zeuss has some pertinent remarks on this passage of Constantine. He says, this title of Voivode (*Bœbodos*, as Constantine has it) is a title unknown to the Hungarians, and is clearly Slavic. The Hungarians, again, are hardly likely to have named their country from any leader. "The land of Lebedias" is clearly a name given by his neighbours to the land of some renowned prince.

The Petchenegs still pressed on ; and we are told by Constantine that, about fifty years before his day (that is, about 862 ; the date is fixed, perhaps, with greater accuracy by Rhegnion, a contemporary, at 889), the Turks retired under Lebedias to a country called Atelchousou, identified by D'Ohsson, with great probability, with Moldavia. It is identical with the Erdelen of the Hungarian legends. We are told that, having arrived there, the Khan of the Khazars (that is, of the White Khazars), whose supremacy the Hungarians acknowledged, wished them to elect Lebedias as king, and sent word by Chelandia, the first of the Hungarian voivodes, to solicit him to take it ; but he declined, saying there was another voivode, Salmuts by name, who had a son Arpad ; either of these was worthy of the honour. Arpad was chosen as the one deemed by the Hungarians (the Turks, as Constantine calls them) the most worthy ; and we are told that, after the solemn manner of the Khazars, he was elevated on a buckler. He was the first king of the Hungarians, according to Constantine ; and the first royal house of Hungary was descended from him. If the emperor is consistent in his account, he must also have been a Chazar of the tribe of the Cabari (*vide antè*). At this time Sviatopolk had formed his kingdom of Great Moravia, which included Bohemia, by the cession of Arnolf, the Emperor of Germany. So long as he lived the west was well protected from nomade invaders, the previous wave having been well broken by Charlemagne. On his death in 894, civil war broke out between his sons (see Bohucz), and the barrier was broken. The Hungarians having sustained a fresh defeat at the hands of the Petchenegs, marched into Moravia under Arpad. This is one account ; another, collected by Bohucz from Hungarian legends, is to this effect :—

After the destruction of the Avars, Pannonia became a huge desert. The Slaves, who were settled there by leave of the emperor, were employed in restoring it to cultivation when Cusid, son of Cund, an envoy of the Ougres, announced to Sviatopolk that his people intended to settle there ; the latter, wishful rather of allies than of enemies, consented, and Cusid returned laden with the fruits of the country and a jar of water from the Danube ; Arpad hereupon, having made an offering to the gods, sent a white horse as a present to Sviatopolk, which was accepted with too great complaisance. The Ougres now requested the great Moravian to evacuate a province which was worth only one white horse, and, on his refusal, defeated him severely. He escaped to the Danube, where some say he was drowned, others that he escaped to the forests beyond, and sought refuge among some anchorites, with whom he lived for six years and then died—making a parallel story to that of

Harold. Whichever of these accounts we accept (and I am bound to say the former one is, in every respect, the most credible), we are safe as to the main facts, which are the invasion of Pannonia by the Hungarians about the time of the death of Sviatopolk.

They were then divided into seven tribes, each governed by its separate chieftain, the seven forming the Hetumoger or seven Magyars of the Notary of King Bela. He gives their names as Almus, the father of Arpad, Cund, the father of Curzan, Ound, the father of Ete, Tosu, the father of Lelu, Huba, Tuhutun, father of Horca, who was the father of Gyula and Zombor, and Eleud, the father of Zobolsu. The last of these may be profitably compared with Ziebil, the Khazar ally of Heraclius. In another list the names are given as Arpad, Bolcher, Gyula, Cund, Leel, Verbulchir, and Urs. Three of these names occur in Zonaras; so they may be considered, on the whole, reliable. Each of the tribes is said, in the legends, to have numbered 30,857 men, and the number of clans or families is put at 108.

In occupying their new country, according to Constantine, the eight Turkish tribes (*i. e.* Hungarian) settled on its various rivers; they remained independent of one another, but had a mutual understanding that, in whichever direction war commenced, all should join against the enemy. They chose a common general of the race of Arpad to lead their armies, with whom were associated two officers to perform the office of judges; they were entitled *gylas* and *carchan* (compare this last with the later *Gourkhan* of Carakitai). Besides these, each tribe had its proper prince.

It may well be, and is in fact most probable, that only a small portion of the Khazars who broke away from the main body accompanied the Hungarians in their emigration; the rest remaining behind, near their kindred, occupied the Crimea, and became the ancestors of the Kabardi, as I have shown in my last paper.

The chronicler Rheginon describes the Hungarians as living by fishing and hunting, and as fighting with bows and arrows.

The notary of Bela tells us they had no cities nor fixed houses, nor did they live on the produce of agriculture, but on flesh and fish; their young men were continually hunting; and thus it happened that, even in his day, the Hungarians were the most renowned hunters. This tallies well with what we have said of the affinities of the Hungarians with the Voguls. Leo has furnished Gibbon with material for some sonorous phrases in his description of the Hungarians. "Their tents were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair, and scarified their

faces; in speech they were slow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious," &c. &c.

In the infancy of Lewis the Pious they invaded Bavaria, they overran Swabia and Franconia; and Gibbon affirms that the origin of walled towns is ascribed to the necessities of this period. Almost at the same instant they laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall and the city of Bremen. Pavia was burnt, and Italy overrun to the mountains of Calabria. They overran the Eastern empire to the very walls of Byzantium; and all Europe seemed to be the camping-ground of the Normans, the Saracens, and the Hungarians.

Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great owe no little of their fame to the victories they gained over the Hungarians, whose power they effectually crushed. Their subsequent history is beyond the scope of this paper. When they arrived in Hungary their religion was no doubt that of the forefathers of the Ural mountains; but this arrival synchronizes with the most energetic period of Mahometan propagandism, and we find accordingly that Yakut mentions having met at Aleppo certain Mahometan Bashkirs from Hungary, who told him that in the time of their forefathers seven pious men from Bulgaria had visited their land and taught them the true faith. Whatever progress these missionaries may have made, they have left little trace behind; nor had Rome a more faithful ally, or civilization many more prolific cradles than Hungary after the days of St. Stephen.

The subsequent history of Hungary is very easily accessible, and is beyond the limits of my subject, which deals only with the pedigrees of races. Its present ethnological condition has been well described by Mr. Paterson in his recently published travels, an able *résumé* of which was given by Dr. Hyde Clarke, in the 'Athenæum.' A subsequent paper will deal with the somewhat intricate subject of the Avars and their ethnology, in which the earlier history of the Hungarians will receive some further criticism.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Phoenix.—This is the name of a new monthly magazine published in London, and devoted to Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, Manchoo, Mongol, and Indo-Chinese subjects. It is edited by the Rev. Professor Summers, and reckons among its contributors and correspondents some of the leading students of these branches of knowledge. Ethnology is included, and thus a new opening to most interesting sources of information is obtained.—H. C.

Brown

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tions on the truthful principles of ethnology, and to that effect I have thus firmly expressed my humble opinion.

Mr. COOPER said : Some allusion having been made to the current superstitions respecting the evil eye having also prevailed at one time in Egypt, I rise to observe that the allusion is only apparently borne out by the numerous ocular amulets found in Egyptian tombs. In truth, these charms, consisting of sculptured representation of the right symbolical eye, either singly or in various geometrical multiples (four, nine, fourteen, twenty-eight, etc.), were really as much designed to invoke a blessing as to deprecate or avert an evil. The eye, the symbol of the all-watchful Heserei (Osiris), is found on the oldest monuments of the Hamitic races ; and was not, I believe, connected with any idea of phallic energy till the influence of a later Semitic cultus, derived in the eighteenth dynasty from the Ramesaic kings, and culminated under their corrupt successors, the Ptolemies.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the foregoing papers and exhibitions : Professor Busk, Mr. C. Charlesworth, Dr. Carter Blake, Dr. Nicholas, Mr. A. L. Lewis, Mr. J. W. Flower, Col. Lane Fox, Rev. George Sinclair, Mr. Wake, and the President.

The following papers by HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.A.I., Esq., were taken as read :

The WESTERLY DRIFTING of NOMADES, from the FIFTH to the NINETEENTH CENTURY.—PART VI. The KIRGHISES, or BOU-ROUTS, the KAZAKS, KALMUCKS, EUZBEGS, and NOGAYS.

IN tracing the pedigree of the Turkish races, we have arrived at their first emigrations across the Volga and the Oxus, the two frontier rivers of the more typical Turkland. We have stripped Persia, Turkey, and Southern Russia, of the Turk element in their populations. We must now cross those rivers, and enter the more proper homeland of the Turks—so held, at least, in popular estimation. Our difficulties, of course, increase very much, and our conclusions are necessarily more tentative, as we journey away from the haunts of civilisation. The country we have to deal with is the stony and sandy steppe, reaching from the Volga to the Desert of Gobi, and from the Sea of Aral and the Caspian to the Ural Mountains and the Steppe of Baraba—a hungry land, a land of robbers and nomades, whose ethnology offers as confusing a subject for investigation as could be desired by the most patient unwinder of puzzles. We shall traverse a small portion of the ground covered by the first part of this paper ; and be able, perhaps, to correct a few errors, for which a wider area of observation has suggested a better answer. Our method, as previously, will consist in gradually unpeeling the various layers of populations, until we arrive at the primitive kernel of the whole.

A great portion of the area which we propose to investigate is occupied by the Khirgises, and is from them known as the Khirghiz Steppes—wastes described picturesquely by Atkinson, and more valuably by Levchine. Like most predatory and disintegrated races, they have no connected history. They can tell of renowned chieftains, of marvellous escapes, of successful raids, of all the more striking incidents in the career of their ancestors, the natural subject matter of ballads and traditions; but of their own origin, etc., they speak as empiricists construct history.

The ethnography of these steppes has been very much confused by a not unnatural mistake. The name Kirghiz is unknown to the tribes to whom it is commonly applied in Europe. They invariably call themselves *Qazaks*. It is a name indigenous to a race of robbers, now inhabiting the mountains of Kaschgar Khoten, etc., generally known as Bourouts, Eastern Kirghises, Rock, Wild, or Black Kirghises, whose origin and history is different from that of the so-called Kirghises of the Great, Middle, and Little Hordes. When the Cossacks conquered Siberia, they found these real Kirghises living in the Eastern Altai, and afterwards applied the name to the neighbouring tribes of Kazaks, whose language, manners, etc., were sufficiently like theirs to pardon the classification. From the Cossacks, the name has spread into the pages of western writers. In this examination, we must distinguish them. The name Kirghiz, or Bourout, will be applied to the Kirghises proper, while the so-called Kirghises of the three hordes will be referred to as Kazaks.

The confused history of the Bourouts has been collected by Radloff, Levchine and others, and from them I shall take the following epitome. They are now most distinctly a Turkish race; that they were not always so is most certain, and will appear presently. During the supremacy of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty in China, the Opon (Ob or Obi) was the south-western, and the Jousse the north-eastern boundary of the country of the Kirghises, while the Jenissei flowed through their country (Klaproth). When the Cossacks invaded Siberia, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were living on the black and white Jousse, on the Abakan, and the neighbourhood of the Sayan Mountains; that is, they still occupied their ancient seats. Hence, they pillaged for a whole century the New Russian colonies, dividing their nominal allegiance between the Russians, the Eastern Mongols, and the Soongars. At length, just at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Russians, in concert with the Kontaisch of the Soongars, tired of their robberies, drove them out of their old country, and forced them to settle

in the mountainous country between Arizitchdzan and Kashgar, where they are now found, and are under the protection of China, Russia, and the Khans of Kokand. Radloff suggests they have been called Kara Kirghises, or Black Kirghises, from the obstinacy with which they have clung to their old idolatry. Believers still call the unconverted "kara kapir", or black infidels. They are only nominally Mussulmans; shaving the head, performing certain ablutions, and repeating occasionally some Arabic sentence, more as a charm than as attaching any meaning to it. They have neither mosques nor priests among them, and say no prayers. They are almost entirely occupied in rearing cattle and brigandage. Luxury is a misnomer to apply to any of their extravagances. Travellers remark on the monotony that exists among them; the rich being distinguished merely by a somewhat larger yurt, or more embroidered coat. They are very fond of music, and very hospitable and trustworthy to their guests, contrasting favourably with the Kazaks. In war, and to their enemies, they are described by all their neighbours as cruel, vindictive, and untameable.

In their old homes, the Kirghises were bordered on the east by the great plains reaching to the Baikal Sea, now occupied by very broken and disintegrated tribes. It seems to be very well established, that the Yakouts, who now live far to the north-east, on the Lena, who are a Turkish race, isolated entirely from the rest of the Turks, and surrounded by strangers, have only very lately arrived in their present homes. Their traditions all agree in a very recent migration down the Lena, from a country where they formerly lived as brothers of the same kin with the Bourouts. Now these Bourouts cannot be the Bouriats of Lake Baikal, who are Mongols, and not Turks. They were, no doubt, the Bourouts of whom we have just written—*i.e.*, the Kirghises. Their name, we know, agrees with tribal names found among the Turks of the Baraba Steppe, generally called the Barabinski; and many writers, notably Fischer and De Lessep, have affirmed the identity of the Yakouts and the Barabinski. The latter are very nearly related, as they used to be very close neighbours of the Kirghises; and I have no hesitation in making all three—viz., the Bourouts, or Kirghises, the Yakouts, and Barabinski—fragments of an ancient race, which has been dispersed by the arrival of the Russians, or, perhaps, by the far-reaching ambition of the Soongars, a race which, on the Lena and the deserts of Baraba, has preserved for us a picture of what the Siberian, and probably all the Asiatic Turks, were, before they were sophisticated by contact with Mohammedanism. This dispersal I place not much earlier than the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century. The details upon which these results are founded, will be printed, I hope, elsewhere.

We will now turn to the Kazaks, on whom Levchine has written a most exhaustive work.

All accounts, traditional and native, as well as historical and foreign, agree that the Kazaks are but recent occupants of much of their present area. Everywhere in its western portion, we meet with traces of the previous occupants, the Nogays. In the eastern portion, the broken remains of the Kalmucks are the wrecks of the power whose decay opened a wide path for the aggressions of the Kazaks.

The pressure of the Kazaks has been constantly towards the south and south-west, occupying the deserted camping-grounds of the Nogays, etc. During the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the Sari Sou, which rises in the Ak Tag Mountains, and, after a very broken course, loses itself in the sands of Karakum, was their frontier towards the south-east, separating them from the Kalmucks. The Baschkirs still wandered between the upper waters of the Ural, or Jaick, and the Emba, while the Kalmucks held the country about the mouths of these rivers. The Karakalpacs and Turcomans pastured the deserts of Ust Urt and the shores of the Aral. It was only a short time before the Russian advance into Siberia that the Kazaks had overrun the old Khanate of Tura, before which their northern frontier was bounded by the Tartars of that ancient dependency of Genghiz Khan. So that, at that period, the Kazaks were confined to the central and eastern portions of their present area. Their chief Khan lived at Turkestan, and they plundered their neighbours on all sides. Their origins I shall consider with those of the Euzbeks. Here it will suffice to say, that their history as an independent power commenced with the expulsion of the Euzbeks from the country beyond the Jaxartes by the Soongars.

During the sixteenth century, our notices are very scanty and isolated. We have, in Fischer's "*History of Siberia*", an account of the conquest of Siberia by Kutchum Khan, the son of Mur-taza, and his Kazaks. We have fragmentary notices of Kazak raids upon the Nogays of the Ural; and the early English traders Jenkinson and others mention the Kazaks as inhabiting the steppes. But it is not till the beginning of the seventeenth century we get on stable ground. Abulghazi Khan relates how, in 1630, he took refuge with Ichim, the Kazak khan, who lived at Turkestan. Ichim was succeeded by Djanghir; and he again by Tiavka, looked upon by the Kazaks as their Lycurgus, whose equity and whose strong hand created something like order among the hordes. He was obeyed apparently, like his father and grandfather, by all the Kazaks. Under him, three lesser khans governed the Great, Little, and Middle Hordes. As he grew old, his hand became too weak to restrain his turbulent

subjects; and Abulkhair and Kaip, two celebrated names in Kazak history, were associated with him. Tiavka died in 1717. Internal quarrels and dissensions immediately arose, which led to attacks from all sides on the part of long-enduring neighbours. In 1723, the Soongars took Turkestan, the residence of Abulkhair, and subjected portions of the Great and Middle Hordes, and scattered the rest of the Kazaks in all directions. In the language of one of their elders, "We fled before the Kalmucks, the Kossacks of Siberia, and of the Jaick and the Baschkirs, like hares before greyhounds." This dispersion was most disastrous in its effects; multitudes of both the men and their flocks perished. Ill-fortune somewhat restored peace among them; they agreed to accept Abulkhair as leader, and under him returned to their old homes, and a white horse was sacrificed as a gage of future peace. In 1732, Abulkhair, and a number of his subjects, took the oath of allegiance to Russia, which agreed, shortly afterwards, to confirm the dignity of khan in the family of Abulkhair. In 1735, at the request of the Kazak khan, the fortress of Orenburg was commenced; and the next year, to check the turbulence of both Kazaks and Baschkirs, and to form a better frontier, the line of Orenburg forts was constructed. The Kazaks were never very obedient to their khans, and this intercourse and subservience of Abulkhair to Russia weakened his hands very much. The khans of the Middle Horde, over whom he claimed suzerainty, became very independent, and attracted many recruits. In his latter days, Abulkhair himself gradually got estranged from Russia; he was killed by Barak, one of the khans of the Middle Horde, 1748.

Meanwhile, the Chinese overthrew and destroyed the power of the Soongars: this was in 1756; and their vast country, almost reduced to a desert, was annexed to China. The Kazaks of the Middle Horde, who had assisted the Chinese, were allowed to drift over this area. They had desperate struggles with the Bourouts; but became very powerful under their Khan Ablai, although under the nominal banner of the Chinese.

When the Soongars, or Eastern Kalmucks, were overthrown, ten thousand of them joined their countrymen on the Volga; these new comers, accustomed to freedom, incited their countrymen against the Russians, and induced their celebrated flight across the desert, when fifty thousand families attempted to run the gauntlet of the Kirghiz Steppes, and were fearfully decimated by the three hordes in succession, and lastly by the Bourouts.

Ablai Khan died in 1781, and the Middle Horde was immediately split into fragments.

Catherine the Second tried to reclaim the Kazaks by building

mosques, schools, and caravanserais, and appointing tribunals to settle their quarrels and legislate for them, but with very partial success. The measures of her minister Injelstrom, to break up the power of the greater khans, were at last successful. The Little Horde was dispersed: a portion joined the Middle, another went over to the Euzbeks, a third to the Turcomans, while a fourth division of ten thousand families crossed the Volga, and settled in the land left vacant by the Kalmucks, where they have since remained. The land of the Middle Horde has been gradually annexed to Russia. It has been found, as is very natural, that neither treaty nor promise will bind the desert robbers. Plunder they will; perhaps, plunder they must is the more rational expression. The land is too hungry, life too precarious, and property too easily stolen, for much order to reign there; and it was inevitable, and surely not very disheartening to philosophers, that Russia should continue her advance till she enclosed with her iron discipline the whole of the desert.

The history of the Great Horde was, with great propriety, separated from that of the other Kazaks by Levechine. Separated by a long distance from the Russians, and situated close to the Soongars, they naturally became more or less subject to the latter. At length, leaving the neighbourhood of the Lake Balkash, they retired towards the river Sara Sou, and thence pillaged Taschkend and Turkestan, which, in 1739, were subject to them. On the dispersion of the Soongars by the Chinese in 1756, the Great Horde drifted over their deserted country, and recognised the suzerainty of China. The Torgouts, in their flight from Russia, were cruelly assailed by one portion of the Kazaks of the Great Horde. Another portion of the Horde had fixed its camp in the neighbourhood of Taschkend, and pillaged that town and the surrounding country. In 1760, a large body of Karakalpacs, driven from the mouths of the Jaxartes by the Little Horde, joined them. In 1798, they were subjected by a rigorous Khan of Taschkend, who attacked the plunderers, and exposed pyramids of their heads to frighten the rest. He reduced them to order. A portion of them escaped to the Irtysh, and joined the Middle Horde; others dispersed in various directions. When, in 1814, the Khan of Khokand took Taschkend, these Kazaks changed masters; but many of them, who had settled down, left their fields and gardens, and escaped towards China. The Great Horde is now broken up: a portion still obeys the Khan of Khokand, a second obeys China, a third is under the dominion of Russia.

Having epitomised the tedious history of the Kazaks, from the time of their forming a distinct nationality, we must now turn to the Soongars, or Kalmucks, whose arrival led to this result.

The origin of the Kalmucks is an obscure question. Pallas is probably right when he says that the Mongols were divided into two branches before the days of Zenghiz. These were most probably the Keraites and their dependent tribes, and the Mongols proper. His strong arm kept them united for a while, and probably the unity lasted during the continuance of the dynasty of the Yuen in China. When this was destroyed, the old division arose, and Kalmucks in the west and Khalkas in the east denoted the rival parties. Abel Remusat and others have shown good reasons for identifying the Kalmucks with the Keraites, the Ouirates, and their other dependent tribes. I believe this position to be well founded; and, if so, we must place their western limit at that date at the country of the Naimans. When the power of the Naimans was destroyed, and they were scattered in the Kirghiz and Nogay deserts, as we shall show further on, the ancestors of the Kalmucks drifted westwards, and occupied the abandoned country. Here they were situated, apparently, at the fall of the Yuen dynasty, and hence, according to the relation of Emperor Kienlung (see "*Mémoires sur la Chine*"), a body of them advanced on the country about Kokonoor, or Thibet, where their descendants still remain. They were divided into three main divisions; namely, the Soongars (with whom were joined the Derbetes), the Torgouts, and Koschotes. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Soongar princes subdued or scattered the other divisions. The fugitives to Thibet were probably a portion; another portion, after a long struggle with the Soongar princes, left the country, and found its way, as we have shown in the first paper of this series, in the year 1630, to the banks of the Volga. After these events, the Eastern Kalmucks are often referred to simply as the Soongars. The growth of a central power among the Soongars, by the suppression of the independence of many tribes, coincides with the decay of the power of the successors of Timour in Turkestan, and the break-up of the old Khanate of Kaptchak. This led to two migrations. The Kalmucks pressed across the Irtysh into Eastern Kaptchak, the Desht Jitteh of the Arabs, and dispossessed the tribes of the latter. Some of these joined the Kazaks to the north; the greater portion, under the name of Euzbeks, crossed the Jaxartes, and drove thence Baber and his so-called Mongols—*i.e.*, the descendants of Timour. The Soongars rapidly acquired a vast power.

The Emperor Kanghi, in the "*Mémoires*" already quoted, tells us the first khan of the Eleuths who came to do homage was Kousihan. He was well received by the Emperor Chuntche; was treated as a king, and presented with a special seal and the title "*souré*", meaning *eminent*. One of his descendants,

Tchetchem ombon, we are told, showed great skill in clearing his country of plunderers, and received from the Chinese the titles of Patour and Tousietou. Another, called Hotohotchin, with the title of Patour Taidji, was the Kontaisch of the Kalmucks, with whom the Russians came in contact when they occupied Siberia. He was the father of the celebrated Galdan, or Kaldan. Educated as a lama, it was on the murder of his brother Sengue, who had succeeded his father, that Galdan received permission from the Grand Lama to revenge his death, and declare himself Taidji. On very slight pretexts, he attacked the other independent Taidjis; and, having united the three main hordes of the Eleuths, was practically the founder of the empire of the Soongars. Fugitives from his ambition sought assistance from China, which sent a large army against him, and defeated him: when hard pressed he poisoned himself. This was in 1697.

Tse ouang Reptan was originally a small chieftain under the King of the Eleuths. With him, Septen Patchour, the son of Galdan, took refuge, taking with him his father's body. Reptan delivered him up to the Chinese, and with him the head of Galdan. This was only the beginning of his treachery. On the retreat of the Chinese, he ravaged all the borderland, including those parts of Mongolia subject to China. His aim seemed to be to revive the old empires of Zenghiz and Timour. By fraud or force, he subdued nearly all the surrounding tribes, and beat the Chinese armies. He was apparently succeeded by Ta-tse-reng, a *protégé* of the Chinese court. A period of confusion followed, in which many pretenders arose. At length, more successful than the rest, Amoursana raised the royal standard on the banks of the Ili. Several of the chieftains, fearful of impending troubles, fled into China, and were settled by the Emperor in the country of the Khalkas. Amoursana now threw himself at the feet of the Emperor, who gave him a high title. The Emperor Khanghi says, emphatically, the perfidious Amoursana, like a wolf which has once tasted flesh, could not be quiet. The fact is, the Chinese *surveillance* invariably becomes unbearable to the dependent tribes. The ambiguous summonses to Peking to receive fresh honours, literally mean prostration at the foot of the throne. Tired of the restraint, Amoursana took up arms, and overran all the line of forts built by the Chinese to protect their frontier. The Chinese sent two large armies, which were both unsuccessful. In 1752, two new armies set out, broke up the confederation of the Mongol tribes, and we are told Amoursana fled, to return no more, to the vast solitudes of Locha (the Chinese name for the Russian possessions). The Eleuths were destroyed or dispersed, and the disintegrated remnants were administered by the Chinese. They still

remain about Lake Balkash and the adjoining mountains, and are generally known as Eastern Kalmucks.

Before the Kalmucks appeared on the Volga, Turkish tribes, more or less pure, occupied all the country from the Volga to the mountains east of Lake Balkash, a tract which formed the ancient Khanate of Kiptchak, or the Golden Horde. At this period, this tract was divided into two sections: the western portion, including all the valleys of the Jaick, the Djemba, etc., formed the so-called Great Nogaia, and was the camping-ground of the Nogays; the eastern, the Desht Jitteh, was occupied by the Kazaks and the Euzbegs, apparently subject to a common khan, who probably lived at the town of Turkestan. We must now examine the origines of the Euzbegs and the Nogays. These were but streams of the great Turkish flood, which swept over Asia with Zenghiz Khan.

At the accession of Zenghiz, the country west of the Jaick or Ural was occupied by the Kaptchaks or Comans, of whom we have already written. East of the Jaick, the steppes of the Kirghises, as far as the frontiers of Turkestan proper, were the camping ground of the Turkish horde, known as Cancalis or Canglis. Both Kaptchaks and Cancalis were subject to Mohammed, the Sultan of Kharezm, known as the Kharezm Schah. He ruled over a vast empire, formed of the *débris* of that of the Seljouks, including nearly all Persia, bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean; on the east by the Indus and the mountains of Budakschan, etc.; and on the north-east by the further frontier of Transoxiana. Here commenced another great empire, about which you have lately heard from Dr. Oppert; viz., that of Kara Kathay, occupying very nearly the centre of Asia, and including what is generally known to geographers as Turkestan; that is, it included the towns of Yarkand, Kaschgar, Euzkend, Caialik, Amalik, and Bishbalik, and was the cord which tied together the various Turkish tribes whose independent centres were those towns. All these obeyed the supreme Khan, known as the Khan of Kara Kathay. These two Khans, he of Khorazm and he of Kara Kathay, ruled over by far the most important powers of Asia at the accession of Zenghiz. North-east of Kara Kathay and east of the Great Altai Mountains, was the small independent Khanate of the Naymans. Here we must linger awhile. The Naymans, by most authors, have been classed as Mongols. I believe they were nothing of the kind, and that this mistake has led to some very false reasoning.

According to the Arabian historian, Raschid, the country of the Naymans comprehended in its full extent the Great Altai and the Caracorum mountains, as well as the mountains of Eloug Serass, lake Ardisch (Saissan), the banks of the river Ardisch

(the Upper Irtysh), and the mountains between this river and the country of the Kirghises. It was bounded on the north by the Kirghises; on the east, by the Keraites; on the south-west, by Ouigouria; and on the west, by the Cancalis. One tribe of the forty-nine banners of the Mongols is, unquestionably, called Naiman; but, as assuredly two Nogay (Turkish tribes) and a Kirghiz tribe also bear the same name, so that the balance of evidence, so far, is in favour of the Turks. The first king of the Naymans mentioned by D'Ohsson is Inandje, which, he says, is a *Turkish* word, meaning believer; the second is Belga Boucou Khan. Boucou Khan, he says, is the name of a celebrated ancient king among the *Ouigours* (Turks). He says, again, the greater part of the sovereigns of the Naymans joined to their title of Khan the epithet Goutschlouc; which means in Turkish powerful, or Bouyourouc, which means commanding; a general of the Naymans was called Gueugussu, which has also a Turkish etymology. These names are quite sufficient to prove that the Naymans were no Mongols, but Turks,—the most easterly of the Turks; (for we have already shewn their neighbours, the Keraites, to have been Kalmucks)—the most like the Mongols, and therefore not unlike the modern Naymans; that is, the Nogays; most probably they were the Kimakes of the Arabs.

The Nayman country is too remote from the centres of civilisation to be often noticed by historians, unless it happen, for the time being, to have some exceptional connection with them. We are not surprised, therefore, to meet with the *name* Nayman for the first time in the historians of Genghiz. It is a Mongol word, and means merely six (see D'Ohsson). We may trace the *people* somewhat further, perhaps. Thus the country occupied by the Naymans in the latter half of the twelfth century was the home of the Ouigours, or Hoeitche, in the ninth, when the latter were well known to the Chinese. The same country was at both dates bordered on the north by the Kirghises. When the Ouigour power was destroyed, in 847, by the Chinese, it was chiefly with the assistance of the Kirghises, who overran their country in all directions. Now Nayman is still the chief of the tribes of the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz-Kazaks; when the King of the Naymans was defeated he took refuge among the Kirghises (D'Ohsson). We shall not be unreasonable if we conclude that the Naymans are in fact the descendants of these Kirghises, and of the Hoeitche, or Ouigours, a mixed race, whose power is perhaps to be dated from the year 847. The following facts are chiefly from D'Ohsson, vol. i. Their first appearance is when Gour Khan, uncle of Thogrul, commonly known as Oang Khan, the chief of the Keraites (who, until lately, has been

deemed the Prester John; (*vide* Dr. Oppert Kitai, and Kara Kitai), took refuge with Inandje, chief of the Naymans; the latter vanquished Thogrul, who took refuge with Yissougi, the father of Genghiz. He, in his turn, drove out Gour Khan, made him take refuge in Tangout, and restored Oang Khan. In 1199 Zenghiz, in alliance with Oang Khan, marched against the Naymans. Inandje Belga Boucou Khan, such was his full name, was then dead. His two sons, Tai Bouca and Bouyourouc, quarrelled; the former kept the paternal home and the plains; the latter retired with such tribes as clung to him to the mountainous country of Kiziltasch, near the Altai. Most of the sovereigns of the Naymans joined to their title of Khan that of Goutschlouc, but Tai Bouca bore the Chinese title of Taivang, or Great King; pronounced Tayang by the Mongols.

Zenghiz and Oang Khan, taking advantage of the quarrel, severely defeated Bouyourouc, who took refuge in the country of the Kem Kemdjoutes, a dependency of the Kirghises. The invaders, in turn, quarrelled; and Saira, a general of Bouyourouc, defeated Oang Khan, and overran the Keraite country. The Naymans were only driven thence by the superior address of Zenghiz.

In 1202 Bouyourouc Khan, besides his own people, headed a confederacy of the tribes *Dourban*, Tatar, Kataguin, Saldjout, and *Ouirat*, all jealous of the rising power of Zenghiz; they attacked the latter in alliance with Oang Khan, and drove them among the mountains of Caraoun Tchidoun, on the frontiers of China, but there most of them were destroyed by the cold, etc.

In 1203 the long jealousy between Zenghiz and Oang Khan ended in the complete defeat of the latter, who escaped to the land of his old enemies, the Naymans. Here he was murdered, much to the sorrow of the Khan, who, to shew his respect *more* *Nayman*, had his skull encased in silver, and used it as a drinking bowl on great occasions of ceremony.

In 1204 Zenghiz marched against Tayang, Khan of the Naymans, with whom were Toucta, King of the Merkites, Alin Taischi, chief of a Keraite tribe, the *Ouirates*, Djadjerats, Dourbans, Tatars, *Katakins*, and Saldjouts. The Naymans were beaten; their chief was badly wounded; the chiefs of the nation, rather than survive the defeat, rushed on the victors, and died sword in hand; the rest of the Naymans were dispersed in all directions or else reduced to slavery.

Goutschlouc, son of Tayang, fled to his uncle Bouyourouc Khan; and Toucta, chief of the Merkites, sought the same refuge, among the mountains of Ouloug Tag, the western spurs of the Little Altai, and south of lake Balcash. Here they were defeated by Zenghiz in 1206, and Bouyourouc killed. Goutchlouc and Toucta

fled to the country watered by the Irtysh ; *i. e.*, to the north. In 1207 the Kirghises and Kem Kemdjoutes submitted to Zenghiz. In 1208 Zenghiz marched once more against Goutschlouc and Toucta ; he defeated them on the Djem (*i. e.*, the Jenissei) ; the latter was killed ; his brothers and sons escaped to the country of the Ouigours. Goutschlouc fled to the Grand Khan of Turkestan or Kara Kathay.

In 1211 the Khan of the Ouigours, Arslan Khan chief of the Carlouks and Prince of Cayalik, and Ozar, Prince of Almalik, broke their allegiance to the Khan of Kara Kathay, and submitted to Zenghiz ; two of them, and the son and successor of the third, married relations of Zenghiz. Goutschlouc Khan had married the daughter of the Gour Khan of Kara Kathay. The weak sovereign of that once vast empire had lost the allegiance of his three greatest vassals, the King of the Ouigours, the Prince of Transoxiana, and the Sultan of Kharezm. Koutchlouc, with true Tartar fidelity, thought it a good opportunity for retrieving his fortune. He first set out to collect the *débris* of his nation, now scattered in the countries of Imil, Cayalic, and Bisch Balig. He was also joined by the Prince of the Merkites. He entered into a league with the renowned Mohammed of Khorazm, to overturn the empire of Kara Kathay, and then proceeded to Euskend, where the treasury of Gour Khan was situated. Goutschlouc was soon after severely defeated ; but, in 1211 or 1212, he surprised the great Khan and made him prisoner. Master of his person, he left him the title of sovereign, which he bore till his death, two years afterwards. Goutschlouc attacked and killed the Khans of Almalig and Caschgar, ravaged their countries, and then conquered Khotan. He tried to force the inhabitants to abjure Mohamedanism. He summoned the Cadhis to discuss the question with him ; their chief Imam defended his faith with some warmth ; the Khan, in anger, abused Mahomet ; whereupon the former cursed him. "May the earth cover thy false tongue," he said. The Imam was therefore crucified, and a rapid persecution of Mahometans commenced. In 1218 Genghiz appeared on the frontiers of the empire ; Goutschlouc was driven into Badakshan, and there beheaded ; and the empire of Kara Kathay was swallowed up in the vast conquests of the Mongols. This conquest formed afterwards the chief recruiting ground of the Mongols. Its various tribes of Ouigours, Carlouks, etc., were the best soldiers in the Mongol armies. It has long been known that the very great majority of their troops were Turks and not Mongols. When Zenghiz attacked the Khorazm Schah, the Cancalis claimed to be very near relatives of the invaders. The same relationship was claimed by the Kiptchaks on the invasion of their territory by the Mongols ; both of these were well known Turkish tribes.

On the death of Zenghiz he divided his empire among his sons, making one of them paramount. The heritage of Djoutchi, the eldest, was situated north of the sea of Aral, extending westwards as far as the Bulgarians; or, in the more graphic words of an Arab author, "To the furthest spot touched by the hoofs of a Tartar horse". These vast steppes were the home of the Kiptchaks, the Cancalis, and of the *débris* of the various tribes driven westward by the Mongols, the Naymans, Merkites, Kataguins, Carlouks, etc. The small proportion of Mongols may be judged from the fact, that each of the four sons of Zenghiz had only a corps of four thousand Mongols assigned to him, the rest of his force being Turks.

In 1235 it was decided at the great assembly of the Mongols to send an army to conquer the country west of the Volga. This army was led by Batou, son of Djoutchi Khan. It first subjected the great Bulgarians on the Volga. In 1237 it attacked the Kiptchaks or Comans; one portion of these emigrated, a second was destroyed, a third submitted (see D'Ohsson, "*Histoire des Mongols*", ii, 112). The Mongols then attacked the Bourtasses and Mokschas or Mordouines, Finnic tribes of east central Russia, the Circassians, and a people called by Raschid, Vézofiniâh. Having subdued all the countries north of the Caucasus, the Mongols overran all Russia, except Novgorod; and, returning home again, once more defeated the Kiptchaks and the Tchere-misses. During the next few years they carried their arms into the heart of Europe, ravaging Bohemia and Hungary and most effectually subjecting the Russian princes, who for three centuries remained their humble dependents. The story is told in detail by D'Ohsson.

On their return they fixed their capital at Serai. The empire which they founded and which was handed down to the successors of Batou is known as that of the Golden Horde.

On his return to Serai, Batou commissioned his brother Tarbougâ to conquer for himself an appanage in Siberia. This conquest was the foundation of the Khanate of Tura or Siberia, which lasted down to the days of the Russian advance. We, perhaps, meet with an effect of this invasion in the pages of Torfæus, iv, 303, when he relates that, during the reign of Hakon II, 1217-1263, there arrived in Norway a great number of Permians who fled from the cruelty of the Tartars.

Mangou Timour, Khan of the Golden Horde, died in 1280, and was succeeded by Tonda Mangon, who was deposed for imbecility about 1285, and was succeeded by four of his relatives as co-regents, of whom Toula Bouca seems to have been the chief. This branch of the family were descended from Djoutchi, son of Zenghiz. At this time other cadets of the same descent had acquired

appanages under their more illustrious relatives. Among these was the renowned Noughia or Nogai, son of Tatar, son of Boucal, son of *Djoutchi*, now an old man, crafty and very powerful. D'Ohsson tells us he held a vast appanage north of the Black Sea, and including the Alans, Circassians, Russians, Poles, Vlakhes, and Bulgarians, as his dependents. In 1259 he made an invasion of Poland, in conjunction with Toula Bouca. In 1265 he married Euphrosyne, natural daughter of the Emperor Michael Palæologus.

He was now ordered by Toula Bouca to join in an expedition to the country of Kerk (Circassia? or the country of the Kirghiz?), with *his Toumans*. The two armies pillaged the country. Overtaken by severe weather, Nogai withdrew his army into winter quarters. Toula Bouca, more venturesome, or perhaps unlucky, was overtaken by cold and famine, and his army suffered severely. Taking umbrage at Nogai, he summoned him before him. The old warrior came, laid an ambuscade for his master, killed him, and placed his brother Toucta on the throne. He was not long in quarrelling with the new Khan, who, irritated at some insolent conduct, sent him a spade, an arrow, and a piece of earth, which guerdon was thus explained by his councillors to Nogai: The spade means, that if you bury yourself in the bowels of the earth, I will drag you out; the arrow, if you escape to the heavens, I will make you come down again; and the piece of earth, choose a battle-field where we may fight. Nogai's answer was sharp: "Tell thy master that our horses are thirsty, and we intend to water them in the Don." The river Don passed by Serai, the capital of the Golden Horde. The two armies met in 1267 at Yacssi, and Nogai mustered twenty thousand horsemen. Toucta was severely beaten. In a second battle Nogai was deserted by his sons and others (Novairi); he was then an old man; his long eye-lashes covered his eyes. In this battle he was killed. His name must have been famous indeed, and was adopted by those over whom he ruled. Their descendants are still known as the Nogai Tartars. His sons succeeded to the government of the Hordes, but did not remain long united, and Toucta was enabled to occupy his territory and to give it as an appanage to one of his brothers. The whole story is told in great detail in the notes to the fourth volume of D'Ohsson's history of the Mongols, from Novairi, etc.

The strange commentary suggested by the fact of this double Khanate, the *imperium in imperio*, possessed by Nogai, has not been properly explained by the writers on the subject. The explanation may be found, I think, if we examine those tribes who still call themselves Nogai, and who have always been independent, both of the great Khans of the Golden Horde and the smaller Khans of Krym, Astrakhan, and Casan, who succeeded

to their power. The Golden Horde was really the army of Batou Khan, the great Mongol invader of the West. Pallas, Dr. Clarke, and other writers, all distinguish very sharply the Nogais from the other Tatars of Krym, etc. Their *physique* and faces are much more like those of the Mongols, and they also approach them in other respects. Now, the Nogai traditions collected by De Hell point to their having come into the West after the days of Zenghiz Khan. Their most distinguished tribes on the other side of the Volga were formerly the Naymans and the Mankats, (? the same as Merkites) the most eastern and the most Mongolised, if I may use the word, of the Turks. It would appear as if the followers of Nogai consisted chiefly of the *novi homines*, together with all the less settled and more predatory tribes, while the Khans of Serai were dependent on the older inhabitants, the Kiptchaks, the Western Cancalis, etc., who were acquainted with towns and more amenable to discipline.

On the death of Nogai, the tribes who were proud to be known by his name, refused, or were too weak to be ruled by his descendants, and seem to have been conquered by the Khans of Serai. This conquest was, however, very partial. The strong hand of such leaders as Bereke and Euzbeg managed easily to control the whole Khanate. On their deaths we find confusion, and especially was it so when the line of Batou Khan was extinguished. In the days of Timour, the Golden Horde was divided and broken up, and the Nogai tribes constituted themselves once more a separate and distinct horde. When the Bashkirs were conquered in the sixteenth century, the Nogai Khan still ruled over a vast extent of country: a portion of the Bashkirs were subject to him. The western writers now speak of two Nogais, Great and Little Nogaia; the former on the east, the latter on the west of the Volga.

Great Nogaia, no doubt, consisted of a great portion of the western so-called Kirghiz Steppe; on the emigration of the Euzbeks, some remnants of the old Golden Horde who were still nomads, no doubt coalesced with the Nogais, as others did with the Kazaks. These Nogais were gradually pushed out or assimilated by the Kirghises. The Karakalpacs, who live about the eastern shores of the Aral, and who consist of Mankats, Kataguns, etc. (Nogai tribal names), I believe to be remains of them; others were pushed forward by the Kalmucks in the seventeenth century, and they were transplanted by Peter the Great.

In the province of Oufa a road is still called Nogaiskaia. Near the Irtysh is a steppe called the Noghaiskaia Steppe, while the Bashkir country is filled with similar traces. The greater portion of the Nogais crossed the Volga about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan

were broken up by Ivan the Terrible, and settled in the Kuban and north of the Euxine. But even in the middle of the seventeenth century they were the dominant race north of the Caspian and the Aral (see Levchine, "History of the Kirghiz Kazaks.")

Let us now turn to the Euzbeks. The successor of Toucta on the throne of the Golden Horde was his nephew Euzbek, son of Togrouldje and grandson of Mangou Timour. He came to the throne in 1312. We are told the military chiefs were inclined to support the sons of Toucta against *him* because he was a Musulman and insisted on converting them. They always replied to his overtures: "Content thyself with our obedience. What matters our religion to thee? Why should we abandon the religion of Zenghiz for that of the *Arabs*?" He escaped a plot they formed to take his life; returned with his troops; killed the sons of Touctai, with a hundred and twenty other princes of the blood; and occupied the throne. In 1314 Euzbek sent an embassy to the court of Egypt, which is described by Novairi. It took splendid presents, and a letter in which he congratulated Nassir on the fact that Mahomedanism had spread as far as China. He told him that in his dominions there were no others than Mahomedans; that on his advent to the throne he left to the northern nations the alternative of Mahomedanism or war; that he had vanquished those who would not be converted. Those who did not perish in these campaigns he made slaves of. Many of these slaves he sent to the Sultan, who, in return, sent ambassadors with presents to Euzbek (D'Ohsson, iv, 574).

These boasts were by no means vain. The Khan of Kipchak was then one of the mightiest sovereigns of Asia, ruling from the frontiers of Lithuania to those of China. Khorazm, *i. e.*, the modern Khanate of Khiva, was one of his provinces. In 1315 it was sacked by Baba, a prince of the house of Zenghiz, who was dependent on Ouldjaitou, the Khan of Persia. Euzbek sent an ambassador to the Persian Khan, who bearded that potentate with the menace that only a strong power could make. "If Baba has done this by thine orders," he said, "we counsel thee not to winter in Arran; for we shall enter that province with an army as numerous as the sand of the desert." The Persian disavowed the act, and appeased Euzbek by ordering the culprit Baba to be executed in the presence of the ambassador (D'Ohsson).

In 1313 a sister of Uzbek Khan was married to Yuri, Prince of Moscow: this led to the elevation of the latter to the throne of the Grand Principality in 1320, and eventually to Moscow, becoming the first and most important of the Russian principalities and the settled seat of the Grand Dukedom. This was not the only marriage which brought influence to the Great Khan. About the same period the Sultan of Egypt sent him an em-

bassy, praying a wife of the family of Zinghiz Khan. D'Ohsson has told the story of the embassy, and the curious bargains that were made, very picturesquely (see "Hist. des Mongols," iv, 652).

Euzbeg Khan died in 1342. To him the consolidation of the empire of Kaptchak, the great apostle of Islam in the steppes of Central Asia, the Euzbeks of Khiva and Bokharah trace the origin of their nationality, as we are told by Abulgazi; himself a Prince of the Euzbeks. Following the custom of Turkish tribes they adopted the name of their most renowned chief: thus imitating the Nogays and the Kaptchaks, the Seljuks and the Ottomans. The Euzbeks, then, are neither more nor less than the tribes which formed the Khanate of Kaptchak; that is, the Golden Horde, those, that is, which formed its eastern half and were not settled in the various towns of the three lesser Khanates of Cazan, Astrakhan, and Krym, and did not join the confederacy of the Nogays. They remained necessarily nomads from their situation. Khiva is their stronghold, where they affirm their purest blood is to be found. As we have seen, Khiva was a mere dependency of their great hero, and therefore overrun by them at an early date.

They are divided, according to Vambéry, into thirty principal Taife or tribes. Among these tribes are very many, such as the Kungrat, Kaptchak, Khitai, Nayman, Kulan, Taz, Uygur, Oshur, Kandjegaly, Djelair, Kanli, Karakazak, etc., which are identical in their names with the tribes of the Kirghiz Kazaks.

It is also a curious fact, that when the Euzbeks are at a loss for a Khan, either from failure of the royal stock among them or otherwise, they have recourse to the Kazaks. These facts go strongly to prove that Euzbeks (*i.e.*, *Uz-begs*) and Kazaks (*i.e.*, *Kaz-* or *Gaz-ak*) are branches of one people, torn asunder only at the irruption of the Kalmucks, and that before that they were the common subjects of Euzbeg Khan and his successors.

We have now followed the migrations of the Turks in *Turan* since the foundation of the Golden Horde. In the next paper we shall shew how and when the vast steppes, bounded by the Volga and the Altai mountains, the Oxus and steppes of Baraba, were first occupied by the Turks, and trace their course down to the days of Zenghiz.

PART VII.—*The THUKIUE or TURKS PROPER, and the HOEITCHE or UZES.*

It is the practice among the Turkish hordes—a practice of which several examples have occurred in the present series of papers—to name a horde or congeries of clans from that clan or tribe to which the ruling family belongs, and which is for the time predominant. Thus we, at one period, hear of Gusses, at

another of Kaptchaks, at another of Seljuks, of Uzbeks, of Ottomans, meaning, very frequently, the same tribes, whose generic name alone has changed with the decay of one predominant clan and the growth of another. The name Turk, by which the whole race has been so long distinguished, had a similar origin. It was the clan name of one tribe of Turks; and, being the first tribe of the race which came in contact with western nations, has given in their annals a genus name to the whole race. The Chinese, who have known the race much longer, still use the word Turk (Thukiu, as their orthography makes it), as meaning only a particular section of Turks. With them it has only a limited application and an *historic* interest: the Kaotche or Cancalis, and the Hoeitche or Uzes, are much more important names. To them, however, we must turn for an account of the origins of the Turks. They give several traditional accounts, out of which we must choose the most probable. This makes them descend from a fragment of the Hiong-Nu, so celebrated in early Chinese history, whom we know to have been Turks from the many words of their language we have remaining, and who were very rashly identified with the Huns by De Guignes. This fragment, which bore the family name of Asena or Zena, was settled about Ping-leang-fou, a town of Chensi. Driven westward by the Goei Tartars, they took refuge in the Altai mountains, and submitted to the Geougen or Avares. One of these mountains, from its likeness to the shape of a helmet, was called Turk by the people of the country. Here they settled, and hence derived their name. They were employed by the Geougen as iron-founders, an art in which they excelled.

They first became prominent about 545, when Toumen, their Khan, began to subdue several petty tribes. In 551 he defeated the Kaotche Turks who had rebelled against the Geougen, and in return demanded in marriage the daughter of his suzerain. On this being refused, he applied to the Chinese emperor, who, either more politic or less fastidious, gave him a princess of the royal blood. Toupen now rebelled against the Geougen, defeated their army, and took the title of Khan. He styled himself Il Khan, gave his wife the title of Kha-toun, and all his brothers and sons that of Te-le. He created a hierarchy of functionaries, and fixed his court at Tou-kiu, near the sources of the Irtych. His throne, placed under a tent, always faced the east, and before the principal entrance hung a curtain, in the border of which was a wolf's head in gold; he died in 553. His subjects worshipped the elements and sacrificed to them camels, oxen, horses, and sheep, and their priests pretended to the gift of prophecy.

Toumen was succeeded by his son, and he in the course of a

year by *his* son Mogan Khan; described by the Chinese as a big man with sharp eyes and a red face. At the beginning of his reign he defeated the Geougen; these last could resist no longer, and took refuge with the Chinese emperor, who received them well (*vide* the paper on the Avars), and then marched against the Turks, whom he forced to pay tribute. Limited on the east by the power of the Chinese, the ambition of the Turks found an outlet in the west and south; and, we are told that, having broken to pieces the power of the Geougen or Avars, they advanced against the Getes—who inhabited *Mavera-ul-nehr*, the great steppe (known as the *Desht Jittah* even in the days of Timour, and all the rugged country of *Kaschgar*, etc.—the precursors of the Turks in the very focus of the Turkland of our day. Before the advent of the new invaders bodies of *Kaotché* and other tribes of the Turkish race had no doubt taken refuge in this area. De Guignes mentions them. But these were only stray fugitives, seeking hospitality. The *Thu-kiu* were the first Turks to assert themselves here as masters. The power they succeeded to was that of the Getes.

The conquest of the Avars and the Getes brought the Turks into contact with Persia, and they made overtures for a traffic in silk, for which they were favourably situated, between Persia and China. The negotiation was carried on by means of the Getes or Ephthalites, who, fearful of being ground to pieces between two strong powers such as Persia and the Turks, caused the negotiations to fail. They persuaded the Turks to turn their eyes further west and to send an embassy to Byzantium. This embassy arrived in 569. It reported that *Dizabul* was then their Khan (probably the *Ti-teou-pou-li* of the Chinese accounts); that their nation was divided into four divisions; that they had vanquished the Ephthalites and subdued the Avars, except a body of twenty thousand, which had fled into the west; they also related what a number of other peoples they had conquered, and ended by begging the Romans to make a treaty with them. Justin sent as his ambassador in reply *Zemarchus*, who was very well treated by the Turkish Khan. He was presented, *inter alia*, with a *Kerkis* slave. *Kaschgar*, *Khoten*, *Taras* and the greater part of *Little Bokharah* were at this time subject to the Turks. *Zemarchus* returned home by the northern shores of the Caspian. On crossing the *Volga* he entered the land of the *Ougres*: they were subject to the Grand Khan of the Turks, and prove how far his arms had reached. The Romans employed their new allies in their struggles with the Persians.

About 581, a fresh embassy from the Emperor *Tiberius* the Second arrived in *Tartary*. It met with a Turkish chieftain, called *Tourxanth* by Justin, probably a subordinate commander:

he scornfully reproached the Romans with their double dealing, with having offered an asylum to the Avares, fugitives and deserters from Turkish authority, and threatened them with the vengeance of the Turks. For fifty years, the Turks in the east were now employed in various intrigues and struggles with China, which never ceased to sow discord among its barbarous neighbours, as the readiest method of weakening them. The tedious struggle is told at length by De Guignes (*"Histoire des Huns"*, vol. i, part 2). He tells us that, from an early date, the Turkish dominion was found to be too extended to be easily governed from the Altai Mountains; and that, among the subordinate rulers, he who governed the western portion of the empire was the most important, and it was with him the Romans had intercourse. About 585, this governor, who was then called Apo Khan, the Bo Khan of the Byzantines, became independent, and fixed his residence on the river Ili. His empire extended from the Black Sea (where the city of Bosphorus was in his possession) to the Irtysh, and was bounded on the south by the country of Kaschgar.

About 609, the Chinese emperor made a journey into the west to visit his dependents there, and received the homage of many of them, as the Khans of Haim, Igour, etc. Tchoulo, then Grand Khan of the Western Turks, evaded the summons, and was deposed by the Emperor. The capital of the Turkish empire was then situated in a mountain called by the Chinese San-mi, north of Aksou.

Persia was now holding up its head again. In 579, Khosroes Anouschirvan had traversed Mavera-ul-Nehr, and assailed the possessions of the Turks beyond, where he forced a peace upon the Grand Khan, and married his daughter. In 590, under Bahram, his successor, the Turks were defeated, and forced to pay tribute. About 619, the Turkish power revived. Tum Chehon, the Schaon Schah of the Persians, subdued several rebellious tribes, and even conquered a part of Persia. But prosperity among the Turks was always very transient; so many dependent tribes being always ready to assist the Chinese in breaking up any preponderating power. After a short unstable reign, Tum Chehon was murdered in 628. His death was followed by great anarchy and confusion. About 638, there were two chief candidates for the throne; and, at length, they divided the empire between them. One of these was called Yokoche: he had the country west of the river Ili, and established his court near Taras; he became, says De Guignes, a very powerful prince; he subjected the Siberian folk, called Kiekou (Kirghises or Bourouts), who occupied the country from the Angara and Lake Baical to the Obi and the Irtysh; he even penetrated further north, and conquered the kingdom of Poma, situated

towards the mouth of the Jenisei. About 641, he defeated the Khan of the other division of the Turks, appropriated his country, overran Tokharistan and apparently a portion of Khorassan, and even pushed his conquests as far as India. He died in 653. In searching among the traditions of the Turks for some traces of a warrior so famous, and a conqueror whose armies overran such a wide area, we are forced to the conclusion that he can be no other than Oghuz Khan, from whom the Gusses took their name, who is treated as an eponymous hero by many writers, but who was, I believe, as historical a personage as Seljuk, Othman, and Euzbeg. Oghuz is, word for word, Yo-ko-che, when transformed by Chinese pronunciation. This identification I believe to be new, and I shall treat of it in detail on another occasion. We are told by the Chinese (see De Guignes, i, 485), that Yo-ko-che was succeeded by his son Kie-pi-ta-tou, about A.D. 653. This seems to be the Turkish name Kiptchak, borne by many individuals, and by several noted tribes, among the Euzbeks, the Kazaks, and Nogays, and which, we are told by Rubruquis, was an indigenous name of the Comans or Gusses. The Chinese historians tell us nothing of him. About 657, the Chinese seem to have overrun Tartary to the borders of Persia, and to have divided it into provinces, and appointed two khans, between whom the country was shared. This division, as usual, was followed by anarchy, each separate clan and tribe aiming at independence, and when, chafing at the exactions of a strong neighbour, moving further west or north, and occupying the greater part of the Kirghiz steppes.

About 692, the Tourfans, or Thibetans, took possession of Khoten, Kaschgar, Aksou, and the country west of Lake Jesikol, but were driven thence by the Chinese and Turks.

About 704, the Arabs, who had overrun Persia, defeated the Turks near Bokharah, and overran all Maver-ul-Nehr. So-ko was then the Khan of the Turks, who were very much divided and broken by the intrigues of the Chinese and the jealousies of the different tribes. The Arabs were not slow to take advantage of these troubles. Under Catiba they possessed themselves of Kharizm and Samarcand, where the Turks had been some time dominant. About 719 they overran Ferganah; and in 737, under Asad, son of Abdallah, beat the Turks again in that ill-fated march-land. The central power of the Turks gradually got weaker, and was pressed on all sides by Arabs, Chinese, Thibetans, and a new confederation of Turkish tribes, which was now raising its head; namely, the Hoeitche. De Guignes says that, from about A.D. 735 they were driven more and more to the west by the Hoeitche, and gradually fell under the yoke of that people.

In Ferganah, at Kaschgar, and in the country of the Ouigours, petty khans existed, who survived all these disasters ; they were versatile in their allegiance, and were ever ready to call in the Arabs and Chinese to help them against the Great Khan. In Maver-ul-Nehr, and in portions of Khorassan and Kharizm, numerous Turkish clans were settled, and, when converted to Islamism by the Arabs, became their trusty soldiers. In the steppes north of the Aral, the Turks proper had for two centuries harried and plundered ; and they had to a great extent driven out the former inhabitants.

We must now take a rapid survey of the encroachment of the Hoeitche, bearing in mind what we have already said as to a new name meaning the supremacy of a new tribe rather than any actual change of race. I hold that the Uzes, who, in conjunction with the Khazars, attacked the Petchenegs, came from the steppes known to the Arabs as the Desert of the Gusses, between the Sea of Aral and the Caspian, and from the steppes of the Kirghiz Kazaks. We are told by the Arabic authorities collected by D'Ohsson ("Peuples du Caucase"), that they were divided into three sections, Upper, Lower, and Middle (a parallel to the later Kazak divisions), that the city of Hadilse (*i.e.*, new town), situated one parasang from the River Sihoun, and two days' journey from the Aral Sea, was the winter residence of their sovereign ; their commerce was chiefly carried on at Courcandge (Khiva). From this area came the Uzes, who attacked the Petchenegs ; from the same came the soldiers, who, under Arslan and the other early Seldjuks, invaded Persia, who are also called Uzes (*vide* De Guignes and others). The word Uzes is used by the Arabs in two senses : first, in a restricted sense it refers to the invaders of Persia and the west after the tenth century ; secondly, it is the generic name under which they include many of the Turkish tribes beyond the Oxus. According to D'Ohsson, who is apparently following Raschid, they thus include the Cancalis, Carlouks, Ouigours, Calladges, Kipchaks, Agatcheris, and others—the same tribes that formed the great nation of the Hoeitche at the invasion of Persia by the Seldjuks. The Great Khan of Tartary was the Khan of Kashgar. His nation was known as the Lion Hoeitche to the Chinese ; a similar name was applied to them by the Arabs (*vide* D'Ohsson, "Peuples du Caucase," 150). They were, apparently, the Carlouks of other writers. They then dominated over the Ouigours (the Tagazgaz and Bagargar of the Arabs), who seem, however, to have still had a Khan of their own. A similar dependent Khan reigned over Fergana or Turkestan, his capital being Aksou. He was the descendant of a long line of kings, traced up to the almost

mythical Efrasiab. South of the Oxus, the Arabs ruled over the whole country as far as the Caspian. No permanent Turkish settlers were there, save the slaves captured and bought by the Arabs and the remains of a disintegrated invasion, to which I have already referred. North of the Aral and in the Kirghiz steppes, the Turks were predominant.

The earliest recorded invasions to the south of the Oxus and west of the Volga, are synchronous, both being the results, apparently, of one impulse. If we examine the cause, we shall find it in the fact that this date is also synchronous with the destruction of the Samanide dynasty. This powerful Arab dynasty had for two hundred and fifty years been supreme in Khorassan, Transoxiana, and the great wilds of Khorazm. The Turcoman inhabitants of these districts were their subjects and in many cases their slaves. In 993, we are told Bograh Khan, the Great Khan of Tartary, who ruled from Kaschgar to China, and under whom were several dependent Khans, entered Transoxiana, and drove out the Samani ruler, and even advanced as far as Georgia. He fell, ill, however, and died the same year; and it was his successor Illik-il-Khan—the Yelouke of the Chinese—who put to death Abdal Melek, the last of the Samanides, and subdued the various petty Emirs. He married his daughter to Mahmoud of Ghazni, the celebrated Indian conqueror, and gave up to him a portion of Transoxiana and Khorazm. It is with the advent of Bograh Khan and Illik-il-Khan, that the Uzes first appear. The sons of Seldjouk, who led them into Persia, were *protégés* of the former of these conquerors. They would seem, from Dherbelot's account of Seldjouk, to have been still unconverted to Islam, and were therefore strangers to the Mussulman border-land of the Oxus. They can, in fact, be no others than a band of the Hoeitché—a name which seems the same, word for word, as Uzes—invaders from beyond Kaschgar. After breaking peaceably through the petty Khanate of Fergana or Turkestan, they overran the area now occupied by the Uzbek Khanates, overran Persia as far as Syria, and Russia as far as Hungary, were the subjects of the Khorazm Schahs, of a somewhat later date, and the ancestors of the great Seldjuk and Ottoman dynasties, both of which traced their origin to the Uzes.

The Hoeitché, it is reasonable to suppose, were not driven in one direction only. One portion, at least, we might expect to have taken the great marching route towards the west, across the Aral steppe, and we do find that about the time of their disruption new invaders are mentioned in the west, namely, the Petchenegues. We have already dealt at some length with them. Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us they were formerly called Kankar. He tells us, in another place, the name Kancar was

not borne by all their tribes, but was confined to the three noblest. We have shown that Cancar is the same word as the Cangli and Cancali of the mediæval and Arab writers. Abulghazi derives their name from the Turkish "kang", meaning a chariot. Abel Remusat has shrewdly pointed out that this is the meaning of the name Kaotche, by which the Hoeitche were also known. It would seem, then, that a portion of the Hoeitche, driven westwards, conquered the Turkish tribes of the Steppe (probably the Thiukiu), and were held thence to be of a superior and nobler caste; they, as we have shown elsewhere, precipitated the Hungarians upon Europe.

Having dealt with the dispersion, we may now consider the rise of the Hoeitche. Originally, a small tribe on the borders of the Toula and the Selinga, and around Caracorum, under the name of Kaotche, we find them subjects of the Hiong Nu, or, perhaps, forming one of their tribes. They consisted of fourteen tribes, each governed by its own chief, of which that called Hoeitche, or Goeitche, was the chief. About 429, they were beaten by the Chinese, and many of them were settled on the Chinese frontier. In 606, they were subdued by the Thukiue. About 646, their khan was called Tou-mi-tou: he had considerable intercourse with China, which led to many amenities of civilisation being planted in the desert, described by De Guignes. About 685, their country was overrun by the Thiukiue, and they were driven towards Kantcheou—that is, the later country of the Ouigours. About 744, they took possession of all the country of the Thiukiu, and fixed their royal residence near the river Kuen-ho. Their khan was then acknowledged as Grand Khan by the Chinese. In 758, his ambassadors disputed for precedence at the Chinese Court with those of the Caliph Aboudjiasar-al-Mansor. In 840, they were attacked by a hundred thousand Siberians, called Kie-kia-su (the ancestors of the Kirghises and Bourouts); and in 847 these tribes broke up and destroyed their empire.

In speaking of the Naymans, in a previous paper, we have already hinted that they were possibly the descendants of the Hakas, or Khirgises, who, about the year 847, broke up the power of the Hoei-tche. Their kingdom formed the western frontier of the country of the Hiong-nou, who created Le-lim, a Chinese general, their king, under the title of Hien-yam. On the fall of the Hiong-nou, they apparently became subject to the Thiukiu, whose khan gave his daughters in marriage to their chiefs. About 648, hearing that the Hoei-tche had submitted to China, they also sent ambassadors. The Emperor raised their country to the rank of Fou—*i. e.*, the first rank. In the year 758 or 759, they were completely defeated by the Hoei-tche.

Their chief was called the Age ; on the decline of the power of the Hœi-tche, he took the title of Khan. The Hœi-tche sent an army against them. The war lasted twenty years, and was unsuccessful. We are told that the Age insultingly jeered the Khan of the Hœi-tche : "Thy day is over (he said) ; I am come to take thy golden tent, to plant my standards in front of it. If thou carest not to meet me, I bid thee retreat without halting." The Age thereupon invaded his country, defeated him and cut off his head, set fire to his tent, and retired with great spoils to his own country. About 844, Ou-kiai was khan of the Hœi-tche : he had retired, we are told, with his people, among the Hetchetche, or Che-ouei. The Age of the Kie-kia-sse was made Grand Khan about 847. From the year 860 to 874, three embassies came to China from the Kie-kia-sse. After that date, they no longer appear in the Chinese annals, confusion at home leaving little time and opportunity for reporting the doings of remote tribes.

The empire of the Hœi-tche in the east was thus uprooted. Its broken fragments were driven towards the south and west. Long-te-le, chief of certain hordes of the Hœitche settled west of Kan-tcheou and Cha-tcheou, and subdued all the towns west of the desert. *These* Hœi-tche, bordered on the west by the Mohammedans of Transoxiana are the Turks called Odhkos by the geographer of Nubia. Most probably, also, the Carlouks of the Arabs. About 842, Salam made a journey into their country, and found many Mohammedans among them ; many of them, on the other hand, were fire-worshippers. About 874, they were defeated by the Thibetans, and driven further westward. In 875, they sent an embassy to China. About 893, the Samanides, who had taken possession of Transoxiana, or Mavera-ul-Nehr, invaded their country, and took their khan prisoner, with ten thousand of his soldiers. About 923, their khan was called Gin Mœi ; to him the Emperor of China gave the title of Ing-y-Khan. About the year 992, their khan, as we have said, was Bograh Khan. We have traced out their further history as the Lion Hœi-tche of Kaschgar.

Other fragments of the Hœi-tche formed the main strength of the Khanate of Kiptchuk, overthrown by Zenghiz. The greater portion of the Turcomans, the Kazaks, and the Tatars of the so-called Great and Little Tartaries, are descended from them. Before the break-up of the power of the Hœi-tche, their sandy wastes were for the most part inhabited by an earlier wave of population. If we treat the above tribes as the kernel, we shall find them bordered all round their northern and western frontier by a layer of Turkish populations, which have much in common with one another, and may be clearly distinguished from *them*.

Commencing in Europe, and going round, we have the Tchuvashes, the Meshtsheriaks, the Baschkirs, the broken tribes of Siberia Proper (as the Katschinzi, the Tchoulymsky, Kaidinzy, etc.), the tribes of the Steppe of Baraba or Barama, called by the Russians Barabinski; and, lastly, the Bourouts, whom we have shown to have emigrated very lately from the neighbourhood of the latter. All these tribes are Turk in language, and in some other respects; but their blood is very much mixed with that of the pre-Turkish folk. To all appearance, they were the advance guard of the Turkish invasion, and were pushed further north and west by the later Turks and the Mongols, until they occupied their present area. We must say a few words about them.

The Tchuvash call themselves Vereyal Khirdiyal and Vyres. According to Müller, the Russians call them also Vyress. This particle Vyr, or Ver, reminds one that the Avars, or Var, as the Byzantines called them, were once the dominant tribe in this area. The languages of the Tchuvashes is very much mixed; a great portion of it not being Turkish, but Ugrian. It is very like that of the Jakuts. Pallas, who has devoted several pages of his travels to a description of their manners and customs, points out how, in their religion, etc., they resemble the Mordvins and other Ugrian tribes. They are, in fact, the remnant of the race which occupied the country at the advent of the Turks, mixed with a considerable element of those invaders.

What is true of the Tchuvashes is true also of the Meshtsheriaks: they, too, are a Ugrian race overlaid by a Turkish element; their name occurs as early as the days of Nestor; they are found chiefly in the old khanate of Kazan, and have often proved faithful allies of the Russians in their contests with the Baschkirs.

The Turkish element in both Tchuvashes and Meshtsheriaks may be as old as the days of the Thu-kiue, or earliest Turks, or it may date from the invasion of the Gusses. We have no means of knowing exactly. We, at least, know that the Hungarians were driven from a portion of this area by the Petchenegs in the ninth century, and that the name Meshtsheriak is identified with Majiar by V. St. Martin. The ancient home of the Hungarians, as we have shown in a previous paper, was Baschkirland; they were the primitive Baschkirs. The present Baschkirs are still called Ishtaki by their neighbours, and bear many traces of a mixed origin, in which the Turkish element now prevails very strongly. The Hungarians were also called Oughres. The Oughres were known to the Byzantine authors at an early date; a portion of them having been driven south, as we shall show in the next paper, by the Avars. They became subject to the

Thu-kiue, or Turks proper, in the sixth century; and from this fact the Hungarians were called Turks by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. From the sixth century, when these Thiukiui first invaded the west, until the decay of the Nogay power, Baschkirland was the marching ground of many bands and tribes of Turks; and it was doubtless between those dates that the Turk character was firmly fixed on the Baschkirs.

Next to the Baschkirs, is the government of Tobolsk, the very ancient province of Ibir Sibir, or Siberia Proper, now inhabited by many broken pagan Turkish tribes, which, like those we have mentioned, show many traces of a mixed origin. It was the seat of the Siberian Khanate founded by a brother of Batou Khan of the Golden Horde, and, during the existence of that Khanate, received a large accession of Turkish blood; but it was partially Turkish before that. As we shall endeavour to show in the next paper, its original inhabitants were the Savirs or Sabiri, who were also victims of the Turks; and here also, as in the Baschkirland, the Turkish element began its intrusion about the middle of the sixth century, and continued to receive recruits from every unfortunate tribe that was swept across the steppes by invaders from the east.

The same remarks apply to the Barabinski, Yakouts, and earliest Kirghises. Baraba is a corruption of Barama, a Ugrian word, meaning the country of the Bar—*i.e.*, of the Bor, or Bour. Out in Yakout, Bourout, etc., is merely a Turkish termination; therefore Barabinski and Bourout are the same word. Sokha, Sokhalar, are names common to Barabinski tribes, and also to those of the Yakouts. The three races are, in fact, branches of one race, whose Turkish ingredient has probably (as is stated by Jardot of the Kirghises) been derived mainly from the break-up of the Hoei-tche; but also, no doubt, in some measure, from the earlier wave of the same race which we have spoken of as conquering Siberia and Baschkirland in the sixth century; viz., the Thu-kiue, or Turks proper.

We have now followed up the history of the stream of Turkish aggression to the sixth century. About the middle of that century, the Turkish name first appears in western writers; and until that date, so far as our evidence goes, no Turkish race ever came in contact with Europe, or Southern Asia. If we are to understand the vast migrations of barbarous tribes that took place in the fourth and fifth centuries, and which overthrew the Roman empire, we must forswear much that Dr. Latham and others have made popular in ethnology. We must sweep the Turks clean out of Siberia Proper and the deserts of the Kirghise Kazaks, back to the rugged country of Turkestan, Kaschgar, and the tableland of Pamir. We must sweep them

into the Altai Mountains and the country beyond, where the old empire of the Hiong-Nu had its seats. We must turn our backs on the plausible but long since exploded theory of De Guignes, that the Huns were the same folk as the Hiong-Nu. The Hiong-Nu were Turks, and the mere resemblance of the name has misled the great French historian of Turan. Having thus cleared our path, we can with greater freedom examine the pre-Turkish inhabitants of this vast area. The Avares and White Huns, who both the Chinese and the Byzantine authors tell us were predominant in its eastern portions, and the Bulgarians, who inhabited a section of its western portion before they were driven forward towards the west and north by other invaders. In the beginning of the sixth century, the boundaries of the Turk race were: on the north, the Altai and Saianski Mountains which separated them from Siberia; on the west, the Pamir Steppe and Ala Tau Mountains; on the south, the northern limits of Thibet Proper; while on the east they stretched away along the Chinese wall, and were, with the Khitai of Leao Tong, the only northern frontagers of China. Our next paper of this series will treat of the Avares.

The CHAIRMAN having directed the attention of members to the date of the forthcoming meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh, on the 2nd August, and announced that the delegates of the Institute would receive and take charge of all papers sent in for reading in the department of anthropology, adjourned the meeting till November next.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA.

THE AVARES, OR EASTERN HUNS.

THE AVARES bear a name very familiar to the readers of Gibbon and of the history of Charlemagne. Byzantium and the Frankish empire of the west equally felt their arms. From the Don to the Rhine, from the Alps to the Baltic, their warriors ravaged and overran every corner of Europe. They effectually subdued the Slaves; and it was apparently under their leadership that these latter people overwhelmed Bohemia and Mecklenburg, occupying the old seats of the Marcomanni and the Vandals. They settled in Hungary and Austria, and probably gave to the language of the descendants of Theodoric's Goths those peculiarities we differentiate when we speak of High German or High Dutch, in distinction to Low German or Low Dutch. The Avares are, therefore, an important ingredient among the European races; and it is a subject of interest to the historian no less than the ethnologist to define their race-connections and to trace out their origin. The materials for such an examination are abundant, but they have not been critically used. In the following paper I shall offer a theory on the subject, which I believe to be, in a great degree, new, and which, I believe, explains much that is difficult in the ethnography of Western Asia in the sixth century.

Latham and others, who have been followed in the notes to Smith's edition of Gibbon and his "Dictionary of Ancient Geography", decide that the Avares were Turks mainly because their leader was styled khan. As if khan was not a title used by the Russians (Const, Porphy, etc.), by the Khazars, by the Mongols, and by the early Kirguises, none of whom were Turks—a title unknown to the more savage and unmixed Turks, such as the Jakuts, Barabinski, etc.—a title which is neither more nor less than the Chinese han, a dignity conferred on the greater vassals of the empire among the barbarians, and which is the surest test we have in early times that the race whose leader bore it was subordinate and subject to, or had intercourse with, China. Besides the use of the term khan, I know of no other good evidence for making the Avares Turks. Of the value of this the above facts are conclusive.

Vivien St. Martin and others have decided that the Avares, with the Khazars, Bulgars, Huns, etc., were all Ugrian or Finnish tribes, descended from a common nest at the foot of the Urals, and related

most closely to the Voguls of the present day. This view is more reasonable than the last, and much more generally held. In fact, it has been supposed that, if we exclude the Turks, we must decide in favour of the Ugrians as the parent stock of all these tribes. In a former paper on the Khazars, I have tried to show that the alternative is not confined to Turks and Ugrians, and that, as far as the Khazars are concerned at least, the overwhelming evidence goes to show they were the ancestors of the Circassians. How about the Avares? who were they?

Theophylactus Simonocatta, who wrote a history of the Emperor Maurice (A.D. 582—602), has left us more valuable materials than all the other Greek writers for the elucidation of the question. I will quote his words at length. He says that, "having conquered the Ephthalitæ, and joined their country to his own, the Turkish khan also conquered the nation of the Abari. *Those on the Ister have falsely taken this name.....* The Turks then conquered the nation Ogor, a very numerous race, well skilled in arms. It dwelt in the east, on the river Til (i.e., the Itil or Volga), which the Turks call black. Its most ancient princes were called *Var and Chunni*. A portion of these fled from the main stock into Europe, and adopted the name and distinction of the Avares. The Sarselt Unnuguri and Sabiri, on the arrival of the fugitives, were seized with great fear, as they suspected them to be Avares. *The Var and Chunni, seeing this, gave themselves the name of Abares*, for the Abares among the nations of Asia are held in highest esteem. Of these pseud-Abares some were Var and some Chunni."

Menander Protector reports that the ambassadors of Dizabulus, the Turkish khan, in answer to certain questions, said that a portion of the Avares were still subject to him, and that the number of those who had fled westward was about twenty thousand. Zemarchus, the Byzantine ambassador, on his return from Asia, the same writer tells us, crossed first the Hieh, then the Daich (the Jaik, or Ural), and then, after passing some marshes, came to Attila (the Atel or Itil, the Volga); thence to the Ougouri, who warned the Romans of an ambush the Persians had prepared for them. The leader of the Ougouroi was subject to Dizabulus. Dizabulus was succeeded by Turxanth, who jeered the Roman ambassadors for their hollow friendship, inasmuch as he said, "Ye have made treaties with our slaves the Var-chonitæ (by whom, as the original in Menander says, he meant the Avares), who were our subjects."

These extracts have been bones of contention among ethnologists, and quite a load of lore has been accumulated about them. Several facts seem to me to stand out clearly. First, the Ougouri of Menander and the Ogors of Theophylactus are the same folk, a great and warlike people living on the Volga. These, again, can be no others than the Jougrians, so celebrated in the middle ages; the Youras of the Arabs; and Yourahs and Yugri of the Russians. Yugri is probably derived from Yukh, Ostiak, wood (Lehrberg). Their country is filled with thick woods; it lies between the river Or

the Ural mountains, as far as the Nadya and the Agasin, and between 56 deg. and 67 deg. North latitude. We have shown in a previous paper that they were the same as the Ougres, or Hungarians. If Avar and Ogor are convertible terms, then assuredly the Avares were typical Ugrians, and own brothers to the Voguls and the Mordvins, as the Hungarians were. But this is improbable.

In the case of the Avares we may distinguish two distinct peoples. Theophylactus tells us, of the Ogor some were Var and some Chunni; again, the ancient princes of the Ogor were called Var and Chunni; lastly, Paulus Diaconus tells us the Avares were formerly called Huns, but from the names of their princes they took that of Avares. These extracts seem to show that it was the princely caste among the Ogors—the dominant race, in fact—which alone was entitled to the name of Avares. This is confirmed in other ways. The Turkish khan does not complain of the flight of the Ogors, but of the Varchonitæ. The Ogors are found by Zemarchus, under their own chief, on the Volga; while the Varchonites, of whom Turxanth complains, had fled towards the Danube: shewing clearly there was a distinction between them. The number of fugitives was placed by the Turks at 20,000, a small fraction only, assuredly, of those Avares who were the terror of Western Europe for so long. This fact and the rest are explainable only on the hypothesis that the Var and Chunni—*i.e.*, the Avares—were only the nucleus—"the head of the spear"—of the Avarian armies, the rest being formed of precisely the same materials as the armies of the later Hungarians; namely, of Ougres. That the Avares proper were the dominant nation of Central Asia before the Turks is stated by the ambassadors of Dizabulus. That as such they dominated over the Ogors is most probable (thus the chiefs of the latter acquired the names of Var and Chunni); and that, when beaten by the Turks, a portion of the Avares should fly to the Ogors, and with the latter invade the west, is equally probable; and this I take to be the real story. And, if it be so, we ought to find corroborating testimony in the pages of the Chinese writers, and to them we must now turn.

Before doing so, I will dispose of two or three other questions. Dr. Latham throws out a suggestion that "Abaris the Scythian", mentioned by Herodotus, may have given the name to the Avares—a far-fetched notion, showing only too clearly how apt a mere name is to run away with our ethnological reasoning; that a Scyth of the sixth century B.C., should have given a name to those who, in the sixth century A.D., Priscus tells us, "were formerly called Huns, now Avares", argues a more tenacious memory in a race for their primitive name than is consistent with probability.

The curious story of Theophylactus about the real Avares and the pseud-Avares has received many explanations. I think that of the elder St. Martin, the historian of the Armenians, is the most probable. If the Avares were the dominating race of Central Asia, they must have been too well known to the inhabitants of the northern shores of the Caspian for them to mistake an entirely different

people for them. The explanation of the story, no doubt, is, that they mistook the broken fragment flying before the Turks for the main army of the old invincible race.

Let us now leave the Byzantine and examine the Chinese authorities. Here I shall depend entirely on the authority of De Guignes, who wrote a most exhaustive article on the Avars, in the twenty-eighth volume of the "Transactions" of the French Academy, some years after the completion of his great work on the Huns.

Before the supremacy of the Turks, the western writers tell us, the Avars were the dominant race in Central Asia. The same position is filled in the Chinese accounts by the Geougen, or Jouan Jouan. Theophylactus tells us the Turkish khan killed three thousand Ogors, with their khan. Exactly the same story is told of the destruction of the Geougen by the Chinese writers. The last khan of the Ogors is called Colch by Theophylactus. The Chinese, who disfigure all foreign names, call the last khan of the Geougen Gau-lo-chin. In 551 the Geougen were defeated by the Turks; and in 555 the Turkish khan put to death three thousand of them with their leader. The fugitive Avars first appeared on the frontiers of the Roman empire in the thirty-first year of Justinian—*i.e.*, in 557—coming from the very country of the Geougen; thus the time of the arrival of the Avars exactly agrees with the time of the expulsion of the Geougen.

These facts make it most probable that the race of the Avars, whose great fame had reached Europe, was neither more nor less than the Geougen of the Chinese.

The Geougen are placed by Chinese writers about the river Tula, and we are told their country extended as far as the Baschkirs. Ma-touan-li, the great Chinese historian, places them, during the dynasties of the Huns, to the north of the Yue-tchi. These notices only vaguely define the area of the Geougen. We shall not be far wrong, however, if we assign to them the country now occupied by the Great and Middle Hordes of the Khirgises and the province of Tobolsk, the area, in fact, formerly known to the Arabs as Ibir Sebir. We shall have more to say about this when we come to the Bulgarians.

The Chinese do not assist us at all in defining the race affinities of the Geougen. Some make them Tungus, others Mongols. (Remusat, "*Langues Tartares*", p. 326.). Ma-touan-lin makes them descend from the Hiong-nu—that is, makes them Turks. These contradictory accounts probably only prove that the Chinese had some difficulty in assigning them to any of the well-known races of Northern Asia.

I believe I have discovered a clue which explains the difficulty, and also solves it. Vivien St. Martin and others have remarked that the name read Geougen by De Guignes is really formed by a repetition of the same character, and ought to be read Jouan Jouan, or perhaps Jén Jén. Now Strahlenberg relates that a surname in use among the Azincian Tartars was Gugui (p. 66). This seems more than a mere resemblance of name. Who were the Azincian Tartars of Strahlenberg? The question lands us in the midst of a very

quagmire of difficulties. Until the present century it was the custom to divide all the tribes living north of the Khirgises, between the Baschkirs on the one hand and the Barga Burats on the other, into either Turks or Ostiaks. Turks, such as the Barabinski, the Tartars of Tura, of the Tchoulim, etc., were very properly considered as intruders, most of them since the foundation of the Siberian Khanate of Tura by the Mongols; the rest were the *débris* of the Cancalis and the Thoukiou, who had been pushed hither by other invaders. I believe this view to be incontrovertible, and have already treated of it at length.

Having displaced the Turks, we have remaining the Ostiaks. Klaproth was the first to point out that under the name Ostiak two different races are included. First, the Ostiaks proper (the word means those living on the Ob), of the same race as the Voguls and the Permians, and also of the original Baschkirs—typical Ugrians, clustering about the focus of the Ugrian races, namely, the Ural Mountains. These Ostiaks are an encroaching race. They are found far away from their own camping grounds, even among the tribes on the Jenissei. These wanderers have traditions of their emigration. Strahlenberg thus reports: "When I was among the Ostiaks on the Obi, I asked them, since they were known as Ostiaks to the Russians only, whence they had their vernacular name Chondichue; they answered they came formerly from the river Chonda or Conda, which flows into the Obi..... Those Ostiaks that live farther towards the east, near the city of Tomskoi, told me they came from Sauomis Sembla, which is either Finnland or Lapland." Sauomis Sembla, as Latham has pointed out, is simply land of marshes, and refers to the country north and north-west of their present residence.

In the interesting essay on the Ostiaks, contained in the *Memoirs on Russia* published anonymously in 1725, it is said: "It is easy to prove, by the ancient historians, that they (the Ostiaks) lived formerly in the province of Permia Wilski, near Solkamskoy; but the old Bishop Stephen having tried to convert them, some became Christians; others, on the contrary, abandoned the country of their ancestors, and took refuge in an inhospitable climate. This is confirmed by the similarity of their language to that of the Permeki. They have disused the name of their ancestors, and call themselves Chontiseki, and call their present country Gaudimiek. As these words have no meaning in their language, it would appear that the fear of being discovered made them disown the name Permiskoi or Perms, and obliged them to change their name." Fischer, the historian of Siberia, also says the Ostiaks are emigrants, and assigns the same cause as the author of the *Mémoires* for their emigration.

Ermann (vol. ii, p. 140) gives an anecdote related to M. Stephanoi by one of the chiefs of the Ostyaks of Yeniseisk. "Once, as our horde journeyed from the setting towards the rising sun, it was found, upon their coming to the river Tas, that but four of each sex remained alive. These, too, must have died of hunger, but that one

of them was an inspired soothsayer. On a sudden wings appeared upon his shoulders ; he first raised himself into the air, then darted down into the tas, and emerged with his body hung round with fish ; henceforward his companions became fishermen."

These authorities suffice to show that the Ostiaks proper are an encroaching race ; that they have been drifting towards the east and south in quite recent times ; and that they are no long possessors of a portion of the area they now inhabit.

I said that under the name of Ostiak two very different races have been confounded. The above remarks apply to the Ostiaks proper only. Klaproth, in his elaborate review of the Siberian races, separated from them certain tribes on the Upper Yenisei, which had been confounded with them by many authors, and gave them the name Yeniseians, by which they are still known to ethnologists. They consist now of very small and disintegrated tribes rapidly being extinguished, and having few points of resemblance in their language and customs to either Turks or Ostiaks. *Sui generis*, and isolated, they have been a puzzle to ethnologists. Long before the days of Klaproth, the much neglected Strahlenberg had distinguished them, and given a vocabulary of one of their dialects, which he pointed out was different to that of any of the surrounding tribes. These surrounding tribes—Turks, Samoyedes, and Ostiaks—have all been encroaching within quite recent times. So far as we have any evidence, the Yeniseians, on the other hand, occupy their original seats, and have been rapidly diminishing in numbers and importance. Small-pox, and the struggle for existence against Russian tax-collectors and Turkish robbers, have reduced their numbers very fast. It is of them that Strahlenberg tells the pathetic story which has been frequently repeated. He says : "The Arintzian Tartars, who live under the dominion of the Russians on the river Jenesei, near the city of Crasnojar, told me that when the Russians had made themselves masters of West Siberia, and these Tartars saw that they brought one nation after the other under their yoke, and of consequence reasonably concluded that it would soon come to their turn likewise, they sent ambassadors to the Russians, who took with them an arrow, a black fox, and a piece of red earth, by which they meant, according to their custom, to offer the Russians the alternative of peace or war. But the latter pursuing their design, and falling unexpectedly on these people, their horde was so entirely routed and cut off, that of seven thousand men of which they then consisted, only about two hundred are now remaining. However they have yet their separate tongue." The allegory of the fox, arrow, and red earth, has been compared with reason with the similar allegory of a bird, a frog, and a mouse, sent by the Scythians to Cyrus. In another paragraph, Strahlenberg says : "I asked them (the Arrintzi) how their horde came to be so small since they had their own separate lang they were called Arrintzi or Arrinoi, from the signifies a hornet. Now, as they were in an mighty people, who destroyed

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were, therefore, compared to hornets. At a certain time a vast swarm of serpents came into their country, who had heads like men, and shone like the sun itself. With these they indeed waged war, but were at length overcome by them, routed, and great numbers of them killed by those creatures; upon which those who remained were obliged to leave the country they before lived in." Whatever the value of this etymology and fable about the serpents, it no doubt contains a tradition of the ancient greatness, and gives a cause for the present decrepitude, of the race. The story has been compared with that told by Herodotus of the Neuri.

Much remains to be said about their customs, and more especially their language, on which Castren has written a most valuable work. These I shall refer to more at length when we come to consider the Bulgarians and Huns, when we shall have to revert to this area. Here it will suffice to say, that the broken fragments of this almost extinct race now "exist (I am here using Latham's words) on each side of the Yenisey from Abakansk to the parts about Mangaseia, Abakansk and Mangaseia being Samoyed localities. The Uda, the Sym, and other Yeniseian feeders, are Yeniseian occupancies. The Ket, a feeder of the Obi, is the same. The fifty-sixth parallel cuts their area, Krasnoyarsk, Jnbazk, and Pumpokolsk, being the towns of their district, but by no means the towns of the Yeniseians. On the south they are bounded by the Soiot, and certain Turk tribes approaching them, and of mixed blood; on the north by the Khasovo; on the west by the Ostiaks; and on the east by the Tungusians of the Tunguska river."

The position I have tried to support, and I believe it is incontrovertible, is, that over all this area, and even over a much wider area, the Yeniseians form the original population, and have been broken to shreds by their various neighbours. Now this very area is filled with mounds and ruins of ancient structures—more so, perhaps, than any part of Asia—ruins that attest its former culture, and prove beyond all question that it was once the stage of a civilisation which has been long extinct. I will quote the descriptions of several travellers.

Strahlenberg describes the idols and other remains taken from the Ostiaks on the rivers Irtysh and Obi, when they were baptised, among which were some above a foot high, of metal very artificially cast. The Ostiaks say they inherited them from the ancient Asiatic Scythians, or Tzudi, who inhabited those countries before they came thither. There seems to be some probability in this, as they are too stupid and simple to have made such work. Their other idols are only roughly hewn pieces of wood or stone hung over with rags." Again, "Vast numbers of graves are found in Siberia and the deserts bordering it on the south. In these tombs are found all sorts of vessels, urns, wearing apparel, ornaments and trinkets, cimetares, daggers, horse-trappings, knives, all sorts of little idols, medals of gold and silver, chessmen, and golden plates, not unlike the *bractei aurei* of some others of the ancients. Likewise cloths, folded up, of the

same sort as those the corpses were dressed in. The graves of the poorer sort have likewise such things in them of copper and brass, arrows of copper and iron, stirrups, mirrors with characters upon them, earthen urns, etc." "About twenty or thirty years ago, before the Czars of Russia were acquainted with this matter, the governours of the cities of Tara, Tomskoi, Crasnoyar, Batsaniski, Isetskoe, and others, used to give leave to the inhabitants to go in voluntary caravans to these tombs in order to ransack them, on condition that of whatever they should find of gold, silver, copper, and jewels, and other things of value, the governor should have an allowance, generally of the tenths. These caravans, whenever they found anything of value, used, for the easier dividing of their booty, to knock to pieces these choice antiquities, and give to each person his share by weight." "The arms, swords, arrows, daggers, etc., which the Russians dug out of these places, were not forged, but cast of copper, especially the swords, which were shaped much like our modern bayonets and hangers." To prove the antiquity of these remains, Strahlenberg makes an apt quotation from the war between Cyrus and the Scythians. When asked by him why they did not keep their ground, they answered that there they lost nothing by giving way, but if he should come near the sepulchres of their fathers he might then chance to see whether they could fight or no.

It is unnecessary to quote from Ermann, from Pallas, and from the rest of the Siberian travellers, who enlarge on the vast quantities of large graves and other *débris* of an extinct civilisation, which crowd the country of the Jenissei and its feeders, and which form a perennial El Dorado to the present inhabitants, robbers who organise digging and plundering expeditions to these cemeteries. Our purpose is fulfilled when we have proved the existence of the remains, and identified the race to whom they belong with apparently the only possible descendants, the broken and fast disappearing Yenisseians.

De Guignes, as is well known, identified the Huns with the Hiong-Nu of the Chinese writers. He was very probably misled by the resemblance of the name. It is strange that he should not have been impressed with the much greater resemblance there is between Hun and Jouan, or Jén. We have already quoted several authorities, who tell us that the Avars were originally called Huns; we have shown reasons for identifying them with the Jouan Jouan. So that this identity of name is a fresh support to our position; but, besides this, it throws light on another question. The Jouan Jouan first appear in Chinese history in the beginning of the third century A.D. Some time after, they are found on the Jaxartes, and invading Transoxiana, where they intermarried with the Yethas. They compelled these latter to emigrate to the south of the Oxus, and during the fourth and fifth centuries extended their power as far as India. Towards the end of the fifth century, and after it had been conquered by the Jouan Jouan, Khoten is called Houn-na by the Chinese historians. The whole frontier of Persia is then described by western writers as infested by enemies, to whom a new name is given; namely, the Huns.

Cosmus Indio Pleustes, who was in India in 525, gives the name of Hunnia to the vast territory separating India from China. (Renaud, "Relations, etc., de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie orientale", p. 296.) Houna is the name of a tribe occurring in Indian inscriptions. *Hara-hoîna* is the name of a barbarous people in the north-west of India, mentioned in the Mahabharata. One of the dynasties mentioned in the celebrated history of Kashmir is that of the Hunk. *Khoundooz* is one of the states near Badakschan. All these facts prove what an important race the Huns must have been in the east of Persia in the fourth and fifth centuries. They also compel us to identify the Huns with the Chinese Jouan Jouan.

Thus, while Europe and the west were being flooded by one wave of Huns, Eastern Persia and the Indian border were being flooded by another. No doubt the White Huns of Priscus and others were for the most part Ephthalitæ or Yethas, and were called Huns, as the Magyars were called Turks by Constantine Porphyrogenitus; viz., because a Hunnic caste had overrun and conquered the whole country. Most of the above facts I have taken from Vivien St. Martin's admirable essay on the Ephthalitæ, or White Huns of Priscus. It is a matter of great surprise to me that the French geographer should never identify the Huns with the Jouan Jouan.

The Huns of the Byzantine authors generically included many distinct tribes which invaded Europe in successive waves. The name Avar is confined by them to the last of these waves; the name Jouan Jouan is apparently used by the Chinese in the same wide and generic sense that we use the name Hun.

Priscus, in describing the successive tribes who pushed westward, says the Avares pushed on the Saroguri, and the Saroguri the Sabiri, and other Hunnic tribes. Now Saragouri is word for word White Oghre, or White Ogor, the particle "sar" in the Ugrian tongues meaning white. White Ogor, again, is used interchangeably with White Hun. In a previous paper of this series, I have proved that the Khazars, or Akatziri, were the same race as the Ephthalitæ of the Persian frontier. We have shown that, about the fourth century, the Ephthalitæ began to be called White Huns. We are correspondingly told that the Saroguri, being driven from their country, fell upon the Acatzirian Huns, and thoroughly overcame them. This seems to me to be conclusive that the Sarogouri were the same folk as the White Huns. I believe they were the Ogors, whom Zemarchus found to be predominant on the Volga, when he returned from his embassy to Dizabulus the Turkish Khan; and who were described by Theophylactus as dominated over by a princely caste of the Var and Chunni, that is, of the Avares.

Having traced the Avares to their cradleland, we must now give a rapid sketch of their history (chiefly from De Guignes). In the third century, A.D., Northern China was subject to a race of Tartars, known in history as the To-pa or Goei (their ethnology I hope to work out on a future occasion). About the beginning of the fourth century, a fugitive from these Tartars collected a number of hordes in the desert

to whom he gave the name Geougen. About 391, their country was entirely overrun by, and made subject to, the Goei emperor. Some fugitives, under their leader Sou-lun, escaped towards the west. Here he collected a considerable nation about him, and subdued many neighbouring princes, and soon became the most powerful chieftain in Tartary. He possessed himself of the country of the Kaotche Turks about the Onon and the Selinga, where he settled, and soon became master of all the country from Corea to the river Ily. He subjected the country of Yu-pan or Yue-po (that is, the country of the Baschkirs—De Guignes), and then took the title of khacan or khan, abolishing that of tanjou, until then held by the supreme ruler of Tartary. He now made laws for his people, and introduced discipline among their troops, which he divided into different corps. His people were till his day a barbarous race, ignorant of letters and accounts; he made them imitate Chinese manners, except in regard to their writing, which consisted merely of notches cut on wood—a species of writing common to many nations of Central Asia, and, in fact, identical with the runes of the Norsemen. He fixed his capital at Kam-tcheou, at the western extremity of Chensi, a famous town and entrepôt of trade in later history. Having been beaten in battle by the Goei Tartars, Tou-lun at length died in A.D. 410. His death was followed by considerable confusion, relieved only by constant inroads upon the territory of the Goei, in which the invaders generally were badly beaten. The emperor, weary of these incursions, set out with an army of 100,000 men, and overran the whole country of the Geougen, taking many prisoners and much booty. The Kaotche Turks, at the same time taking advantage of this inroad, killed many of their old masters, and ravaged their lands. The khan died of chagrin; his son made peace with the emperor, and married a princess of the imperial house.

About 448, the inhabitants of Yue-pan—(De Guignes calls them Baschkirs; if so, they must have been the Ogors of western writers)—sent an embassy to the Goei emperor, suggesting a treaty by which the Geougen should be attacked in the east by the Chinese and in the west by themselves, and ground to pieces between the two millstones. The Goei continued to send expeditions into Tatar, and harassed severely the Geougen; the latter did the same in reply, and overran all Little Buchar, *i. e.*, Kaschgar, Khoten, etc. The end of the fifth century saw them struggling with their various Turkish subjects, the Cancalis or Kaotche, the Ouigours, etc. It is tedious to relate the various revolutions that took place, and one can only refer to the most striking. About 516, the khan of the Geougen thoroughly defeated the Kaotche Turks, killed their king, and made a cup out of his skull. Many of the Kaotche were driven among the Getes; that is, the White Huns of Transoxiana. About 523, there occurred a grievous famine that desolated the country of the Geougen. Meanwhile the Goei became divided into two sections, the eastern and western; the Geougen allied themselves alternately with one and the other. It was about this time we first hear of

the Turks. The Geougen were tributaries of the Goei, and seem to have been related to them very much as the Kalmucks of Soongaria were to the first Mandchu emperors. In Tartary they were supreme ; all the Turkish and nomade hordes of the Altai and the Steppes of the Aral were subject to them, as were also the White Huns, whom Vivien St. Martin has identified most conclusively with the Yue-tche of the Chinese writers. With the White Huns the Geougen intermarried, and no doubt received from them much of the culture they possessed, probably also some of their religious notions. Among the races tributary to the Geougen was a tribe living in the Little Altai mountains, called Thu-kiu by the Chinese and Turks by the western writers. So far as we can judge, they first gave a name to the race which is so widely known under the name of Turks. We are told this tribe was subject to the Geougen, and was employed by them in manufacturing iron, the Thu-kiu being most skilful iron forgers. About 551, the Tie-lé, another Turkish tribe, rebelled from the Geougen ; the rebellion was quelled by the Thu-kiu, whose khan, in return, asked for a daughter of the khan of the Geougen in marriage. This request was indignantly refused. Upon which Tou-muen, the khan of the Thu-kiue, took up arms and defeated the Geougen. In 555, Mo-kan, who had succeeded Tou-muen, entirely defeated the Geougen, whose khan, with three thousand of his subjects, took refuge with the Chinese. These fugitives were demanded from the Chinese emperor by Mokan, who immediately put them to the sword ; and, according to the Chinese accounts, the Turkish power then supplanted that of the Geougen. At this very date, and in this manner, we are told by western writers, the Turks supplanted the Avares. The great bulk of the nation, I have no doubt, retired to the rich country about the head waters of the Irtysch, etc., where an old civilisation had long existed, and where we have placed the cradle of the race. These were the Avares, whom the Turkish ambassadors to the Romans described as still subject to them. Here they continued, and no doubt formed the nucleus of the later state of the Kie-kia-se, whom we have already described as the destroyers of the power of the Hoi-tche. These Kie-kia-se were very different to the later Kirguises, and did not become Turcified, if I may use the word, till after the eighth century. Before they became Turks, I believe them to have been of the same race as the ancient Avares and the modern Arintzian Tatars.

Before the arrival of the Turks, the Avares were predominant in Central Asia. Their influence spread into the country watered by the Volga and the Don. On the decay of the Huns proper, we are told that they forced the Sabiri, a Hunnic race, upon the Saroguri, Urogi, and other tribes, who thereupon attacked the Acatziri. This was before A.D. 465 (see *Priscus de Legationibus*). On the attack of the Turks, a portion of the Avares sought refuge in the country of the Tangastenses and the Mucritæ, called Tangast by Theophylactus (the Tangut of the Chinese writers)—a realm, he says, agitated by no intestine struggles, where they live frugal lives and are ruled by just

laws. Its inhabitants are divided into those who wear black and those who wear red vestments. These are the two celebrated sections of the Thibetan Buddhists.

Another portion of the Avars, as we gather from the relation of the Turkish ambassadors to the Romans, remained behind in their own country, and became subject to the Turks.

Besides those who remained behind, and those who took refuge in Thibet, there was another portion of the Avars, who, following the example of other defeated nomades, took the way across the Steppes and towards the Volga. This division, as the Turks told the Romans, consisted of twenty thousand men. They adopted the credit due to their former power, and, as we have already shown, were probably for this reason called pseud-Avars by Theophylactus. Menander tells us that, having wandered about indefinitely, they at length came to the Alans, and requested Sarosius, their chief, to introduce them to the Romans. Justin then commanded the Roman troops in Lazica: he sent on the request to the Emperor Justinian, who ordered them to send ambassadors. With these ambassadors went one Candich, who insolently boasted of the invincibility of the Avars, and warned the Romans that it would be the best policy to pacify them by the gift of rich presents and a fertile region to dwell in. The Emperor, grown old and decrepit, sent the embassy splendid chains of gold and silk garments. He also sent Valentinus as his legate to counsel them to make war on the enemies of the empire. Upon this the Avars fell on the "Utiguri, the Sali, a Hunnic race, and the Sabiri",—these are the names given by Menander. These are, no doubt, the same tribes whom Theophylactus calls "Sarselt, Unuguri, and Sabiri": we shall have much to say of them when we come to the Bulgarians. North of the Caucasus, the Avars seem to have created a considerable power, and to have subdued the Ogors, etc. But the Turks were coming behind, and they must haste on. Like all the nomade masters of this area, a portion of them took refuge in the Caucasus. A chief division of the Lesghs, numbering from forty thousand to fifty thousand families, is called Avar. They speak a peculiar dialect, different to the other Lesghian speech. Among them, according to Klaproth ("Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie"), are found many names given by the ancients to Huns and Avars. Their chief is called Avar Khan. The Geoigiens call him Khoundsagh batouni.

The main body of the Avars pressed the Romans to assign them seats on the Danube. Justinian at length promised them the country formerly held by the Heruli in the Second Pannonia; but being advised of their want of faith, detained their embassy, and otherwise irritated them. The Turks pressed on, and we are told (Theophylactus) that the Tarinach, Cotzageri, and Zabender tribes also, sprung from the Var and Chunni—that is, Hunnic tribes—were driven forward by them, and took refuge with the khan of the Avars. The latter, with a great body of nomades, now crossed the Don, and at length entered Pannonia.

The chiefs of the Antæ now sent an embassy to the Avares, with whom was Mezamir, son of Idarisius, to pray them to release some of their captives. The arrogance of Mezamir roused the anger of the Avares, who ravaged the country of the Antæ in all directions, killed their king, and compelled them to be their subjects. This conquest has been too lightly treated by historians. It forms a most important epoch in the history of the Slavic nations. Great portions of country along the Dnieper, and especially along the Baltic, west of the Vistula, had been left comparatively vacant by the emigration of the Goths, Vandals, etc., etc. Along this open marching route the Slaves pressed westward, under the leadership of the Avares.

It was at this period apparently they took possession of Bohemia, the former home of the Marcomanni. The Bohemians call themselves Czech. It is a bold conjecture; but I believe it to be justified by the facts that this name distinguished the caste of Avares who led them. I can find no etymology for the word so good as the one (which I believe to be new) identifying them with the Seklers of Hungarian history, so celebrated in the neighbouring Moravia, and who claimed not to be Hungarians, but descendants of Attila's Huns, own brothers of the Avares.

The march of the Avares was rapid: in 562 they entered Germany as far as Thuringia, and ravaged the country right of the Rhine. In 572 they defeated Sigebert, the Frankish king. Gregory of Tours accounts for their victory by their use of magic.

About this time, Baian Khan of the Avares, in concert with the Lombards, destroyed the Gepidæ, and took possession of Pannonia; the larger portion of his armies no doubt consisted of Slaves (Serbs, Chrovats, etc., etc.), and the remnants of the Huns (Cotrigurs). In 574, after defeating the Romans, he made peace with them. This peace was renewed in 578 by the Emperor Tiberius—a treaty which gave great umbrage to the Turks, who upbraided his ambassadors for making treaties with their slaves. This curious chapter in the history of public morals is told at some length by Menander Protector. The Romans fell between two stools; for, while the treacherous Avares proceeded to attack Sirmium, the exasperated Turks laid siege to the city of Chersonese.

Tiberius was weak enough to surrender Sirmium to the Avares, and to pay them a considerable largess. Maurice, who succeeded him, increased the tribute, and also complied with the insolent demand of the Khan to send any rare animal of the Emperor's collection he might fancy. We are told that the Khan chose an elephant. But nothing would satisfy their cupidity; they overran Thrace in all directions, and took many of its cities. These wars were conducted with great barbarity; everywhere ruins and devastation marked the course of the forays of the Avares. In 599 they entered Italy, where their cruelties remind us of the gloomy days of Zenghiz. In 626, they camped under the walls of Constantinople. Thus runs the history of those dark days. Ravage, plunder, and destruction are the words most frequently used by the chroniclers; and thus they continued till

the days of Charlemagne. With their head-quarters in Pannonia, commanding the armies of the Slaves as well as of the Nomades, they effectually destroyed the civilisation of Europe from the Rhine to the Volga, and from the Baltic to the Bosphorus.

Pannonia was their focus and chief camping ground, where they stored their plunder. About 630 A.D. (Bohucz, "L'Origine des Sarmates," 504), they established the so-called Rings, or encampments, of which they had nine, the largest being seven German miles in diameter. These Rings, which included towns, pastures, and woods within their circuit, were surrounded by a rampart formed of piles and stakes, twenty feet high, filled up with stones, &c. Round this was a species of glacis, and then a ditch.

It was Charlemagne who put an end to the domination of the Avares. He took their Rings by storm in 794 and 796; and we are told that the vast booty he captured lowered the value of gold in Europe, like the discovery of California did in our own day. But the Avares had for some time been demoralised by the possession of great wealth and the temptations of luxury; and the common folk among them received Charlemagne almost as a deliverer.

Their power was broken, but they were not exterminated; the remainder coalesced with the Ughry, whose invasion took place fifty years later, and whose relatives they were, and together they formed the nation of the Hungarians.

We have thus traced out the connections and the primitive history of the Avares. We have only cleared away a portion of the difficulty that surrounds them. In the next paper, which will treat of the Huns and Bulgarians, we shall criticise more in detail some of the unsettled points in their ethnology, and shall hope to throw some light on the darker corners of the history of the fifth and sixth centuries.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

ON THE KIMMERIAN AND ATLANTIC RACES.

I MUST except to many of the Keltic etymologies suggested by Mr. Hector Maclean. To begin with "Scythian": a better derivation than that of Mr. Maclean is given by Béron, who renders *Σκυθης*, "homme vêtu en peaux, de σκυτος, peau". Kimmerii is rendered by Mr. Maclean "fit companions or peers" (*kim*, together; *er*, man). A more reasonable derivation is from *cymmer* (*cym*, with; *môr*, the sea), a junction, confluence). The Kimmerii were perhaps originally named from dwelling at the confluence of one river with another river, or of a river with the sea. The derivation of Sabinus from *sa*, good, *bin*, white, is incorrect—the name not being of Keltic origin at all. The same remark applies to such names as Araxes, Artaxata, Armenia, Caspian, Oxus. It would be useless to attempt the etymology of such names without first arriving at an earlier orthography. At all events, the Oxus, Artaxata, Araxes are not compounded of

DISCUSSION.

Mr. MOGGRIDGE said : May I be allowed to say a few words, since I come from South Wales, where several stones with the Ogham characters have been found. The facility with which these markings are read off by those who have made them their study has surprised me ; but, while I do not mean to vouch for the accuracy of those readings, in some cases they certainly agree marvellously well with local tradition. My chief reason, however, for rising, is to suggest a slight emendation in the ingenious theory that Mr. Westropp has enunciated. His idea is that these markings indicated the number of cattle that some person might turn upon the common ; such a record on stone would last for ever—the individual soon pass away. If therefore, there be any truth in the suggestion, the right so indicated would rather attach to the farm than to the temporary owner.

Mr. BRABROOK regretted the absence of his friends Colonel Lane Fox and Mr. Lewis, both of whom were specially versed in the subject to which the paper referred, and had formed opinions adverse to it. In bringing his views before the Institute, Mr. Westropp had rendered them a service, none the less that those views were novel, and liable to be warmly contested.

Mr. LUKE BURKE and the PRESIDENT also made a few remarks.

The following paper was also read :

The WESTERLY DRIFTING of NOMADES, from the FIFTH to the NINETEENTH CENTURY. By HENRY H. HOWORTH.—PART IX.

The FINNS and some of their ALLIES.

THE name Finn is nothing more than the English word Fen. The Finns are, in fact, the Fen or Marsh men. The Fenni of Tacitus and the Finnar of the Norse Sagas bear names which simply mark the nature of the habitat of certain tribes, and have no ethnological value. Ssum in Old Russian, Suome, and Samé, the indigenous names of the Lapps and Finns, mean the same thing. Suomi, of which Samé is only a varied pronunciation, is an abbreviation of Suomenmaa, and this again of Suomiehema, i.e., the land of the marsh dwellers : from Suo, marsh ; miesgan miehan, man and maaland ("Ruh Finland and its Inhabitants," Stockholm, 1827, ii, 1, quoted by Geiger, History of Sweden, 26). Hence the Finns of Finland call themselves Suomalaiset, the Esthonians, Somelassed, and the Lapps, Sabmelads (*id.*).

We thus have to deal with an uncertain and ambiguous term, and are apt to mistake the meaning and drift of ancient geographers. Again the name Finn has been applied in modern times to two very different races. Namely, the Finns of Finland, and the Lapps, while many, of whom I am one, hold that it was a name which was anciently almost confined to the Lapps.

is not yet too late in the day to insist upon the essential distinction there is between the Lapps and Finns. Mr. De Capel Brooke, who lived so long in Lapland, and had many opportunities of judging, says "that at the present day they have scarcely a single trait in common. The general physiognomy of the one is perfectly unlike that of the other, and no one who had ever seen the two would mistake a Finlander for a Laplander. The former are tall of stature, their complexion almost invariably fair, with light, thick, and frequently curly hair; the latter are short, their general complexion considerably darker, and their hair thin, lank, and scanty. The feet and hands of the Laplander, like the Eskimo, are remarkably small and diminutive, which is not the case with the Finlanders. The diseases to which the two races are subject are even different, although living in the same part. They are attacked by different species of intestinal worms, thus the *botryocephalus latus* is peculiar to the Laplanders, while the Finlanders are afflicted by the *tænia solum*, not known to the former. In disposition and habits of life there is also a singular difference, the Finlanders being of a warm, choleric, and quarrelsome temper, while the others are peaceful and inoffensive," etc. (De Capel Brooke, "A Winter in Lapland," 537). I have before me an old work by Simon Lindheim, entitled "*De Diversa Origine Finlandorum et Lapponum*," in which the subject is discussed with great acumen, and the evidence of language specially adduced.

A comparison of the two languages shows how widely the races stand apart. There is a common structure, and a portion of the vocabulary is also common, but the differences also are enormous, and the languages are mutually unintelligible. Geiger says, "If we look at their present condition, a marked diversity appears. The Finns still refuse to acknowledge their consanguinity to the Laplanders. The latter think it an honour that they can claim kindred with the Finns. Every man who has himself resided among these races in Northern Scandinavia must have received a lively impression of the great difference, both physical and moral, between them. A singular mixture of selfishness, mistrust, and childish feeling, characterises the Lapp; a decided and energetic temperament, with a wariness that is often sullen, the Finn. 'The man by his tongue, and the ox by his horn,' says the Finnish proverb. The energy of the Finns applied to cultivation, and clearing the ground by fire, a sort of nomadic agriculture, appears to have been practised by them from very early times. The Lapps of the mountains, on the contrary, are so engrained in their primitive wildness, that, despite the provident spirit of Christianity, and the cares of a paternal government, they offer the spectacle of a

people dying off before cultivation. Yet the process of transition from one state to the other may be observed. The old Quens and Karelians lived in the forests after the fashion of the Lapps, chiefly on the products of the chase, and from this cause raha, a skin, is used at present both in the Finnish and Lappic tongue to denote money, the chief representative of value; but more than a century and a half ago the Finns in the interior of East Bothnia and Kajania lived with their reindeer almost after the fashion of Laplanders. Fisher Lapps, as they are called, often of Finnish extraction, are still found in Kemi Lapp-mark (Wahlenberg on Kemi Lapp-mark, 25, cited in Geig., *op. cit.*)

The Lapps are a retreating and diminishing race, the Finns an encroaching one; and there can be no doubt that the latter are a recent accession to the inhabitants of Scandinavia, while the former are the aboriginal inhabitants. The tradition is common to the Lapps of different districts, that they were the aborigines of Norway, Sweden, and Upper Finland.

"In Norway the fixed Lapps who desire to be called Finns, and condemn the Norsemen as well as the wandering Lapps, maintain that they are the true old inhabitants of all Norway (Rask on the Ancient Northern Languages, 114 in Geiger, *op. cit.*). In Sweden there are two traditions, referring, no doubt, to two lines of invasion. They speak partly of an expulsion from Finland (Scheffer. Tornæus)." From Upper Finland they were driven out by the Tavastrians (*i.e.*, Finns) chiefly in times not yet very distant. Some Lapps are still found here. In the "Ancient History of Sweden," 463, No. 4, among the inhabitants of Finnmark, which is the Norwegian name for Lapland, are expressly noted several races of Finns, with Lapps and Karelians. Below Finnmark was Quenland, where the Kajaners or Quens roamed. Among them, too, and in contact with them, Lapps are found, for in an inroad by the former tribe into Norway, these are represented as opposing them, and being defeated. In Sweden proper the Lapp tradition is, that they were driven out, not by the Finns, but by the Swedes. According to their tradition, they maintain that Swede and Lapp were originally brothers. A storm burst. The Swede was frightened, and took shelter under a board, which God made into a house, but the Lapp remained without. Since that time the Swedes dwell in houses, but the Lapps under the bare sky. These traditions are confirmed by the topography of the country. With languages like the Lapp and Finn, we cannot discriminate local names with the same ease that we can where the occupants of a country speak very distinct languages. We are confined in this to the occurrence of the name Lapp in compounds. This name is of Fin etymology, being derived from L

frontier, as Torfæus, Scheffer, and Lehrberg agree, and was applied by the Fins to mark their marches or frontiers. It is a name disliked and disowned by the Lapps, and where it occurs it is evidence of a Finnic population, having met in its invasion with Lappic settlers.

Missionaries from Riga mention a "provincia extrema" named Lappegunda, in the year 1220 (Gruber, Orig. Liv., 148). This was doubtless some part of Finland. In Finland itself there are numerous names of places compounded with Lapp, as Lappinjarwi (Lapp Lake), Lappinsalim, Lapp Bay, Lappinkangas (Lapp Ridge), Lappinluma (Lapp Tower), Lappinranniot (Lapp Cairn), Lappinranta (Lapp Strand, also called Wildman Strand), and in the Swedish parishes, Lapptrask (Lapp Marsh), Lappfiard (Lapp Firth), Lapploik (Lapp Bay), Lappdal (Lapp Dale), etc. From Tavastland upwards their remains and memorials are numerous (Geiger, ii, 8 note). In the eleventh century, Hel-singland was still called the main seat of the Skrid Finns (who were Lapps). They roamed over wide tracts of wilderness into the forests of Vermeland, and were probably the same with those Lapps of whom memorials and traces are still to be found in Dalecarlia. For instance, at the cattle-stalls of Finnbo, near Lake Hinsén, in the parishes of Suardisio and Sundborn, there are graves of small size, overgrown with grass, which the inhabitants call Lapp graves.

Aland, with a Swedish population, which, as the graves show, existed in the age of cremation, is full of traces of Lappic and Finnish inhabitants still more ancient; thus the names Lapp-hole, Koskimpa, Jomala, Finnstrom, Finnby, Finno, Finnbo, Finholm (Geiger, *passim*). We have thus shown reasons for believing that the so-called Finns have displaced the Lapps wherever the former are now found in Scandinavia and Northern Finland; and to justify the conclusion of Geiger and other northern inquirers, that all the Finns proper who have been found in Scandinavia have immigrated from the eastern side of the Gulf of Bothnia. "The Norwegians and Icelanders, from whom the oldest accounts have come to us, became earlier acquainted with the Lapps than with the Finns of Finland, with whom, on the other hand, the old Swedes were oftenest brought in hostile or amicable contact. By the former, therefore, the name of Finns was applied chiefly to the Lapps, and such were the Finns whom they speak of as scattered in the ninth century along the whole frontier between Sweden and Norway. Such, consequently, were also the Scridfinns, whom Adam of Bremen places north-west of the Swedes above the Vermelanders, and therefore in the present Dalecarlia. So, too, the Finns, whose first abode was in the whole frontier forests of West Gothland,

after whom the Finn heaths or wolds of Smaland were already named in the sixth century. Old Sweden had thus its Finn woods like that of modern days. In these the Lapps retained their stations, and the Finns also partially occupied them, until, surrounded and cut off by advancing cultivation, they were either extirpated or blended with the Swedes, of which several later settlements of Finnic immigrants in the forests of Sweden furnish examples" (Geiger, *passim*). I believe the Finns proper entered Scandinavia in the wake of the Norsemen.

We have now brought them into Southern and South-Eastern Finland, and the country bordering the Gulf of Finland on the north. Here they were in proximate relations, if not in contact, with the Esths of Esthonia, with whose linguistic and other idiosyncracies they had the closest connection.

The above conclusions are very generally held by inquirers into the ethnography of the Finns. I wish to extend them somewhat. There are few prejudices more fixed than that which would make the Esths or present inhabitants of Esthonia autochthones. I believe that, like the Finns of Finland, they are a comparatively recent addition to the population of the Baltic borderland. In the time of Tacitus, the Esths were a race who lived near the Vistula, and spoke a tongue which Tacitus calls the Britannic, which, as some suppose, means that they spoke a tongue other than German, perhaps Celtic, or perhaps Slavic. The description he gives of the Esths is entirely opposed to what we know of the Fins. The Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland of our time were then occupied respectively by the Suiones or Suians, the Lemovii called Hellevonii by Pliny, and Liuthiuda by Jomandes, and by the Rugii and Hirri, who left their name to the Gulf of Riga and the district of Harria respectively, all four races of the Norse type of the Teutonic family, as we shall show in a future paper. So that in the time of Tacitus the area now occupied by the Esths was occupied by a very superior and entirely different race. Again, Tacitus mentions Fenni, east of the Baltic, so do Pliny and others; but his description is that of Lapps, and not of Finns. Listen. *Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas non arma, non equi, non penates, victua herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus sola, in sagittis spes quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus irros pariter ac feminas alit passim emin concitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum, etc., etc.*

F. M. Franzen, in his work entitled "Dissertatio Abo," 1789, has proved that the Fenni of Tacit

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is.

It is a curious fact in confirmation of this,

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Narva was anciently known as Lappia and its inhabitants as Lapplaiot (Schafarik Slavische Alterthumer, i, 313). But we may go further. The Finns have a complete vocabulary of terms of husbandry, and such good farmers are they that their ancient dues were paid in corn, when the Swedes paid theirs in butter, etc. They have a native name for butter, also for iron, steel, copper, and silver; they have also their own words for buying and selling, for a village, a circle of villages, etc. These words show that they did not derive their culture from their Norse neighbours. Now, as Dr. Pritchard says, most of these terms are common to the Finns and Esths. It is probable, therefore, that the customs to which they refer existed before the separation of the tribes. This not only strengthens our position that the Fenni of Tacitus were Lapps, but also shows that the Esths were formerly living in close neighbourhood to the Fins, whose ancient habitat we shall presently show was far out to the east. Rahwa is the indigenous name of the Esths; this seems to be connected with Na-rawas, the old inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Narva, who made an attack upon Novgorod in its early days. I believe the Esths to have emigrated from the Ilmen sea, or, as the Russians call it, the Tschudskoi Osero, after Esthonia was deserted by the Norsemen.

In further confirmation of this position, I will quote a fact from Maltebrun, which has been overlooked by English inquirers. In describing Livonia, he says: "Many curious monuments raised before the introduction of Christianity still remain there, but it is not likely that they were built by the Esthonians. Among these are the ancient castles where people met to defend themselves against the Teutonic knights. That of Warbola has been fully described by a Livonian writer. It consists partly of a very large rampart formed of masses of granite laid on one another, without lime or any other kind of cement. Its two entrances bear marks of modern workmanship. The enclosure forms an irregular oval eight hundred paces in circumference, and from two hundred to three hundred in diameter. The thickness of the walls is from thirty to forty feet, and they are higher or lower according to the variation of the ground. It is not far from the sea. Others similar are situated on the Isle of Oesel, but none have been hitherto discovered inland towards Russia, or to the south towards the Letts. It is not improbable that they were the works of the Scandinavians. Swedish and Danish expeditions in heroic ages may have been preceded by other invasions in fabulous times, and Goths might have settled in these parts before they invaded Scandinavia. It is certain from what is known of the Letts, the neighbours and enemies of the Esthonians, that they could not have erected such work. The fortifi-

cations raised by the Letts in the twelfth century were wholly composed of earth, and so ignorant were they of more solid buildings, that they attempted to pull down the castles founded by the Teutonic knights.

We now travel for some distance under the guidance of Castrén ("Ethnologische Vorlesungen ueber die Altaischen Volker"), who, besides his own researches, has collected the results obtained by Sjögren and others on the Ugrians of Russia.

The Biarmians of the Norse writers were a great people, who had a trading mart called Cholmogorod, on the White Sea, and many more scattered over the vast area formerly known as Veliki Perm, or Great Permian, and comprising the greater part of the present Russian governments of Archangel, Vologda, Viatka, etc. This vast area is still occupied by a thinly-scattered population of fishermen and hunters of a rude and barbarous type, who are known as Sirianians, Permians, and Viatkans. The three names are geographical, and denote three provinces of one ethnological area, there being hardly a dialectic difference between the languages of the tribes that inhabit them. Dr. Latham, who has a prejudice against any race movement, and treats almost all peoples as autochthones, has almost ignored the very conclusive evidence by which the great authorities on the subject have shown that these scattered fishermen are not the descendants of the renowned Bearmians of old days, but are immigrants of a recent date who have probably occupied an abandoned country. But for this his account of the Ugrians is both graphic and very interesting.

The modern Permian is a government taking its name from the recently-founded city of Perm, not far from the Urals, and has no connection with ancient Bearmia. Its inhabitants call themselves Komy-mort—*i.e.*, dwellers on the Kama. The Sirianians, who are really the same people living further north, also call themselves Komy-mort, or Komi-jas, Komi-woityr, which, as Castrén says, not only shows their identity with the modern Permians, but also that their ancient seats were also on the Kama. This is confirmed by other facts. Castrén was told by certain Sirianians, who were excusing their harsh conduct to the Samoyeds, that what God wills they must do. They have gotten the herds of the Samoyeds, but for the Samoyeds they had done great things. Before they (the Sirianians) came, the Samoyeds offered sacrifices to trees, and knew no more than dogs and stone-foxes. They had taught them how to take fishes and hunt with guns; they were sent as teachers (see Latham's "Nationalities of Europe," i, 214), where the anecdote is related. This shows the Sirianians consider themselves to be intruders upon the Samoyede area, and immigrants into a

portion of their present country. This country is scattered over with graves, containing metal articles and curious relics of a state of civilisation far other than that of the modern Sirianians and Permiens. Lastly, we have the fact that the old Bearmians were also known to the Russian chroniclers, and were called by them Sauvolotschekaja Tschuder, which is their synonym for Karelians. On this name Müller ("Ugrische Volkstamm, i, 344") remarks that wolok is Slave for a water-shedding or high land between two rivers, and is generally used in reference to those spots where there was formerly a portage between two rivers, where the boats were dragged across. Sa-wolok means beyond the water-shed, and in the case of the Tschudes was applied to those beyond the water-shed of the Dwina. These Transmontane Tschudes were, in fact, the Karelians of western writers, whom we shall show presently to have been emigrating in a westerly and south-westerly direction, and displacing the Yams or Hamalaiset, and whose culture and traditions both bespeak for them a dignified descent which cannot be said of the Sirianians and their allies; and Sjogren and others have made it very clear that we must look to the Karelians, if we are to find the descendants of the ancient Biarmians. The Finns are divided by the northern ethnologists into two sections: 1, the Karjalaiset (Karelians); and 2, the Hamalaiset. The former represent the old inhabitants of Biarmia and the country beyond the Dwina. They stretched eastwards probably as far as the Ural mountains, the Petschori on the Petschora being probably a section of them. We find that in the account of his voyage to Biarmia, written by Other in the ninth century, he mentions that he only found rude fishermen and hunters (doubtless, Lapps) until he reached the White Sea, when he came upon an agricultural race. This limit probably marks the then western march or boundary of the Biarmians or Karelians. On the south-west they were roughly bounded by the Dwina, which separated them from the other section of the Finns—namely, the Yams or Hamalaiset. On the south their boundary is uncertain, but it was probably not very far from the Uwalli mountains, which seem to be a very old ethnological frontier. To the second division—*i.e.*, the Hamalaiset—I affiliate all the other Tschudes who are found in Northern Russia, the Quains, Tavastrians, the Vod, the Tschudes of Olonetz, the Esths, and the Liefs.

In regard to the Quains, there is some difference of opinion among northern ethnologues, some classing them with one division, others with the other. A comparison of the vocabulary in the Asia Polyglotta of the Finn of Olonetz, confessedly a Yam dialect, with that of Finland, which can only be Quain, inasmuch as the Karelian has a separate column, will show that the Quain

is more nearly allied to the Yam than to the Karelian dialects. In regard to the Esth, there can be small hesitation. It is hardly distinguishable from the dialect of Olonetz, which is typically Yam. Having thus roughly divided the Finns, we may now consider their revolutions and struggles.

As we have said, the Tschud race of the old Russian chroniclers was divided by the Dwina into two branches; those beyond the river, or rather the portage, were called Sawolotschian Tschudes. This branch may be styled the Karelian branch. On this side of the Dwina were the other Tschudes, whose generic name seems to have been Jam, or Yem. The former have been an encroaching and pushing race, and have scattered and broken the Jam or Yem into fragments. The isolated and sporadic Tschud of the Waldai range in the governments of Tuer, Yaroslav and Novgorod are called Kargelaine, or Karelians. These have emigrated the most. The same is true of the Ingrikot or Izhors, who take their name from Ingermannland, and chiefly occupy the government of St. Petersburg, where they number 17,800, and are called by their neighbours Karelians. Even Dr. Latham, who will hardly allow of any race changes at all, argues that the Vod formerly occupied the greater part of this area, and have been displaced by the intruding Karelians. Lastly, the Savakot and Auramoiset, two other Finn populations of this area, also Karelian, the former numbering 42,979, and the latter 29,344, are said to have invaded their present country when, in 1623, the district of Agrepaa was ceded by the Russians to the Swedes, and with it Yeskis and Savolax. This drift of the Karelians has been constantly westwards and southwards, and I have no hesitation in concluding from all the evidence that they have come from the country beyond the Dwina, and now represent the Biarmians and Savolotschian Tshuds of the old writers. In regard to the Yam, they have been the subjects of two elaborate essays by Sjogren in the transactions of the St. Petersburg Academy. He concludes that they were formerly the primitive and dominant population of the governments of Olonetz and Novgorod, who are especially known as Tschudes to the Russians, and that they probably occupied the country south of the Karelians as far as the Ural mountains. I entirely adopt this opinion, and extend it so as to include the Esths and Liefs. Marahwa is very like in form the names Mera and Muroma, Ugrian tribes of Eastern Russia. The former, in Nestor's time, occupied the shores of the Lake of Rostof and its neighbourhood; and I believe that the Marahwas or Esths were once a continuous race with the Meres, their line of migration having been across the Ilmen Sea, known to the Russians as Tschudskoi Osero. Dr. Latham is mistaken when he says the Esths are not called Tschudes by

the Russians. Erdmann—a most unimpeachable witness—thus speaks of them (“Erdmann’s Travels,” i, 20): “One often hears applied to these people (Esthonians) the Russian discriminative term Chukoustsi, Chukhui, or Chudi, a word supposed by some learned Germans to be a proper name, but which really signifies a stranger.” At an early day—certainly during the few centuries after the Christian era—the area now occupied by the Esths was the abode of the Norsemen, whose graves in Livonia have furnished a fine harvest to the most indefatigable and widely-cultured of archæologists, Mr. Franks, and may now be seen at the British Museum. At that day the ancestors of the present Esths lay out to the east of Ingermannland.

The Tavastrians of southern Finland take their name from the district of Tavastehus, and they occupy the drainage of the many small rivers that fall into the Gulf of Bothnia and Finland. They are merely an offshoot of the Tschudes of Olonetz, who live about Lakes Ladoga and Olonetz. We have already mentioned the Lapp tradition, about their having been ejected from portions of Finland by the Tavastrians. To this may be added the fact that they are not named in the accounts of the several invasions of Finland by the Swedes in the middle ages, who name their neighbours, the Esths, Karelians and Quains. This shows that they are an encroaching race, and that they have invaded an area formerly occupied by Lapps and Quains. I have already said that the Quains belong, in my opinion, to the Yam class, being their most western portion. Quain is an old name; it is the Quean of the Scandinavian writers. Quean is a corruption of Kainulaiset. Kainu has the same meaning as Botn, from which the Gulf of Bothnia takes its name, and which means flat or lowland (Müller’s “Ugrische Volkstamm,” i, 451-2).

Kainu Maa therefore is simply the inhabitants of the Lowlands (the Lowlanders), and is derived from the flat lowlands that bound the Baltic on either side. The Quæans are interesting historically. Tacitus mentions the Sitones as living continuously with the Suiones, and that the former were ruled by a queen. It was long ago suggested by an unknown writer, and the suggestion has been generally adopted, that we have here a misstatement of a curious kind. I will extract its explanation from Latham’s “Nationalities of the Russian Empire,” where it is very clearly put: “The Latin form of the root Kain, or Kainu, is Cajania, the old Norse Kæuir and Koëwir. As early as the time of Alfred, the Norse name was sufficiently current to have found its way into the Anglo-Saxon writings of that royal geographer, and Finland is the land of the Cvenas or Cvenaland. But quinna is Swedish for a woman, the same word as the English queen and quean, different in their degrees of courtesy

as the two words are. Now, it is by no means improbable that when a nation of Cvenas was heard of, a nation of women (quinneas) would be suggested. Out of this would come a nation ruled by a woman (queen or quean). This conclusion is not merely a likelihood; it is in three parts out of four a fact. The land of the Sitones, over which the informants of Tacitus are satisfied with making a woman a ruler, becomes, when we get to Adam of Bremen, a land of Amazons 'hæc quidem insula (Estland) terræ foeminarum proxima narratur'. Again, 'Circa hæc littora Baltici Maris ferunt esse Amazona quod nunc terra foeminarum dicitur quas aquæ justu aliqui dicunt concipere. Hæ simul viventes spernunt consortia virorum quos etiam si advenierint a se viriliter repellunt' (Latham's "Russian Empire," 70).

This identifies the Sitones of Tacitus with the Kainulaiset. We have said that the name in itself merely answers to Lowlanders, and is of no special value ethnographically. It may be that there has been no change in its application, and that the Queans or Lowlanders of Tacitus were the ancestors of the Quains or Queans of our day, for the Finns proper of Sweden are not only known now as Quains, but have been so termed from early times, and their dialect is identical with that of the Quains or Queans of Finland; so that it is possible that the Yams, of whom the Quains are only a section, held a portion of their present occupancy as early as the days of Tacitus. This is more probable, inasmuch as Tacitus distinguishes the Sitones from the Fenni, the latter of whom I have shown reasons for believing to have been Lapps.

Another fragment of the Yams are the Vods, now found in a small tract on the coast of the Gulf of Finland, between Cronstadt and Narva. They have been pushed here by the encroaching Karelians, and formerly occupied the greater part of the government of St. Petersburg, which was known from them as Vatland. One division of the old and mighty province of Novgorod was known also from them as Votskaia Petina. Among the Vods, "Tummet pajatha waiss," is "Do you speak Vod?" Thus Vod and Vess seem to be equivalent terms; and Sjogren has identified with great probability the modern Vod with the Vesses who in the days of Nestor occupied the Lake of Bielo Ozero, to the north-east of the later Vatland. The same great authority has shown, by his linguistic researches, that the Vod dialect is very nearly connected with the Tshud of Bieloserh, and through it with the Yam and Tavastian. The two circles which comprise their present country are, in fact, called Oranienbaum and Yamsloy. In the Russian chronicles, *sub anno* 1078, it is stated that Gleb, the son of Sviatoslav, was killed by the Jemen in Sawolotschia. This is the furthest east perhaps to which

we can carry the name, unless the following remarks may be applied to this race. The Arab geographer, Ibn Fozlan, cited by Yakut, tells us that north of Bulgaria, at a distance of three months' journey, was a people named Vissu, or Vischu, with whom the Bulgarians traded. This name was identified by D'Ohsson with the Vuitchajans, named among the inhabitants of Permia in an old Russian chronicle (see D'Ohsson's "*Les Peuples du Caucase*," 220); but I believe that they are rather to be identified with the Vesses of Nestor and the later Vod. This list of names is given at length by Castrén, thus: the Dwinians, Ustiughes, Wilgads, Wytschegdians, Peneger, Juger, Syrianen, Glijanians or Gangainens, the Wiatkans Lapps, Karelians, Jugrians, Petschoriens, Woguls, Samoyedes, Pertasses, Pur-tasses, Great Permiaks, Hamala Tschudes. Most of these names are those of rivers, as the Jug, Wiatka, etc., and among them the Wytschegdiens, whose name is derived from the river Wytschegda, the principal river of Permia.

If the above list be trustworthy (it was compiled before 1396, see Castrén, *op. cit.*, 138), we have fresh evidence that the Jemen extended into Permia, for among the names is that of the *Hamala Tschudes*. If the word Tschude again may be confined, as perhaps it may, to the Tavastrian section of the Finns, we may extend them further, and make them conterminous with the Viatkans, for the chronicle of Chlynow, cited by Müller ("*Ugrische Volkstamm*," 395), enumerates the inhabitants of Viatka as the *Tschudes* Votiaks and Tscheremisses. Here we must leave this part of the question; resting until new evidence accrues upon the conclusions already mentioned—namely, that formerly the Dwina roughly divided the Karelians and the Jams, and that between them they occupied all the country north of the Waldai and Uwalli chains, and between the Urals and the Lakes Onega, Ladoga, and the Gulf of Finland. Why this area should have been abandoned and become a desert is not difficult to see. The climate has undoubtedly become much more severe in these latitudes during the last few centuries. It is notorious that the increasing cold put a stop about the thirteenth century to the navigation, which we know was common in the days of the Norsemen. I shall elsewhere collect abundant evidence of another kind to prove the greatly-increased severity of the climate here during the last few centuries.

Another great cause of the decay of ancient Permia was the rise of Novgorod, and the new course that trade consequently took. The inhabitants no doubt became impoverished, and lost their ancient splendour, and were forced to leave a land that was becoming unendurable from the increasing cold and the hard conditions of life. Many of them also, no doubt, followed

in the footsteps of their chief employers and patrons, the Norsemen. They drifted westwards towards the Baltic, and gradually lost their ancient country, Permia, which became a waste, marked everywhere along the rivers by their graves.

I have already said that the Sirianians and so-called Permians gradually overran this deserted area, and that both these tribes deduce themselves from the Kama. Some Sirianians still live on the Kama. Of this river, the river Syria is a feeder, and it is on this that we find villages named Syrianskoe (Latham's "Russian Empire," 47). This etymology is very reasonable, and seems to have escaped the Russian inquirers. The so-called Permians derive their present name by which they are known to the Russians from the modern city of Perm and its surrounding district, and have nothing to do even in name with the ancient Biarmia. Both tribes constitute really one race, with the common indigenous name of Kami Murt, itself but a geographical term. The total number of Sirianians is given by Latham, *op. cit.*, at 70,965, and that of the Permians at 52,204. They are, in fact, only outlying members of a third class—the Votiaks—from whom they do not differ in language or customs. The root of Votiak is Vot, or Vod, a name which we have met with before; the indigenous name is Udemurt. The Isheremis also call them Odd; Udi, Odd, and Vod being probably forms of one name. This name connects them with the Vod of Jugria, as Latham suggests, and it may be that we have in the Votiaks the primitive material out of which the Jem or Tavastian Finns were developed. The Votiaks are now found chiefly on the rivers Kama and Viatka, and some in the governments of Kasan and Orenburgh, but they were not here always. Their tradition is that they came originally from the Kasanka, in the district of Arskoi Prigorod (Castrén, *op. cit.*, 137). Now, the Turks call the Votiaks Ari, and Arskoi Prigorod is the fortress of the Ari, so that this tradition is, *pro tanto*, confirmed. Besides this, we have the more important fact that the Votiaks are too rude a race to be descended from the occupants of such a great trade route as the Kama was in the days of the old Bulgarian prosperity, and that it is natural to suppose that they have since invaded an area which has been deserted by a more cultured people. The tradition goes on to say that it was the pressure of the Tartars which drove them into their present neighbourhood (Müller's "Ugrische Volkstamm," 388).

The Ural Mountains form a very natural rampart, as well as limit, to Eastern Europe. In most systems of geography, they are recognised as a march or frontier which separates two very distinct provinces of physical geography. For the most part practically impassable, save to hunters and fishermen, whose *im-*

pedimenta are easily packed, they offer only at each extremity facilities for an invading force. It has thus come about that most of the invaders of Europe have turned the southern buttresses of these mountains, which have been, in fact, the chief marching ground of the world.

While scores of inquirers have puzzled themselves and their readers by trying to unwind the race-tangle that these incessant marches and countermarches of invaders have caused in South-Eastern Europe, there has been by general consent a shirking of the problem that arises at the other extremity of the Ural chain. It has been taken for granted that the cold would be too severe, and the Tundra wastes too uninviting to tempt any pressure of invaders in this direction, and that consequently what we find there are autochthones or aborigines, and have nothing to do with the general current of race-change. This is not unreasonable, but it is not absolutely true, although it coincides well with the views of some ethnologists about fixed and sedentary types of man.

The area between the White Sea and the northern spurs of the Ural Mountains is now occupied by the so-called Samoyedes, a race which differs generically both in language and other respects from the Finnic or Ugrian branch of the human family. Dr. Latham has some very judicious remarks about the name Samoyede in his account of the "Races of the Russian Empire," 114. It is not indigenous to the race to which it is applied, but is a foreign name given to it by its neighbours. As Castrén has shown, it has a Finnic or Siranien etymology, and is in origin identical with Samojetia (a portion of Lithuania), Suomelaiset, etc. The root is Sami, the very name which, as we have already said, the Lapps know themselves by; a root we have in English in the word swamp. Samoyede means merely fen-men, marsh-men, and has no more ethnic value than Highlander, Lowlander, etc. It is a geographical, and not an ethnic name. When Nestor therefore speaks of Samoyedes, we must understand nothing more than that he was referring to those who lived on the Tundras or mosses of North-Eastern Russia.

So long ago as 1838, Schrenk, in a paper read before the St. Petersburg Academy, on the Skeletons of two Mammoths found in the Samoyede country ("Bulletin St. Petersburg Acad.," iv, 1), showed that that country was strewn with old graves containing metallic objects, which the Samoyedes point to as the remains of the Sihrtje, as they call them (the Zirianens of western writers), who they say occupied that country before them, and that they now live in the bowels of the earth, and are a very wealthy and advanced people, which is proved by the copper, iron, lead, and tin weapons and utensils found in their mounds.

In Castrén's "Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die Altaische Volker," etc., St. Petersburg, 1857, page 86, I find the following very valuable remarks: "The only district in which the Finns seem to have been obliged to give up their country to the Samoyedes is the district to the west of the Ural. That Finnic races of old time lived here, I have attempted to prove in an essay on the Sarvolotsien Tschudes. ('Suomi Tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen.' Fjerde argangen. Helsingfors, 1845, i, 23.) Among other grounds for this opinion, I there set out the traditions common to both the Russians and the Samoyedes, concerning the Tschudic people, who are called Sirtje by the Samoyedes. The story goes that this people, on the arrival of the Samoyedes, fled into the bosom of the earth, where they still live and tend the foxes, *Mammoths*, etc. I have strengthened this tradition by the production of a great number of Finnic names of places in this district. Thus there exists here a river named Ishma, derived from Isoma. It springs in the tundra called by the Russians Zembla, and the Samoyedes Arka ja (Great Land). Another river is called Tsylma, from the Finnic word Kylma; a third, Pjoscha, Finnic Pesa; a fourth, Oja; a fifth, Kuloi (*i.e.*, fish river). Perhaps the word Samoyede is also of Finnic origin (Lapp Samejedne, etc.). In addition, one may quote the numerous references to Biarma land and its Finnic inhabitants occurring in the Sagas to prove that the Finns must have lived on the tundras west of the Ural, or rather the rivers flowing through those tundras."

These extracts are sufficient to prove the position that the Samoyedes have here inroached upon an ancient Finnic habitat, thus offering one instance at least where a race which lived in a bronze or iron period of civilisation has been displaced by one which until very recently, if not even still, was living under the conditions prevalent in a stone or bone age.

I do not believe that this migration was the result of a successful attack on the previous inhabitants. When the Samoyedes wandered over this area it was probably deserted.

We have therefore pushed back the Samoyedes beyond the Urals. I believe their migration to the west of that range is comparatively recent; and that, at all events in the days of the Norsemen, the Karelian Finns occupied their country.

But we cannot limit this migration to the west of the Urals as Castrén does. It was his notion that all the Turkic, Finnic, and Samoyedic races came originally from the Altai, and much of his reasoning is coloured by this prejudice. Thus it was a part of his theory to make the Samoyedes be driven west of the Urals by the Ostiaks, who were constantly pressing northwards. Now, it is my purpose to show that there has been no general drift of population from south to north on the east of the Urals,

but that the course of migration, with very slight exception, has been in the opposite direction.

On the further side of the Ural chain we find the vast watershed of the Obi and its tributaries. Here the prominent ethnic name is Ostiak. To this name there are the same objections as to the name Samoyede. Erman, in his "*Siberian Travels*," ii, 240, states with some confidence that the name Ostiak is indisputably derived from the Tataric word Ushstyak, a stranger. I believe this to be a false etymology, and that probably the latter word is derived from the former. In a paper on the Voguls, read by Dr. Ronay before the British Association, it was stated that Ostiak is merely Obstiak—*i.e.*, dweller on the Ob. This is a much more probable derivation, if we consider the origin of the parallel names Votiak, Meskeriak, etc., etc.; if we consider also that the Ostiak habitat is limited to the Valley of the Ob. This being in our opinion its etymology, the objection to the name lies in the fact that it has been applied indiscriminately to three distinct and separate races, all living in the same river system. Thus we read of the Ostiaks of the Jenissei, a very curious and very distinct race, who were first discriminated by Strahlenberg, were called Jenissians by Klaproth, and have been the subjects of an elaborate linguistic work by Castrén. We shall have much to say about them in a future paper.

Then we have the Ostiaks properly so-called, who are a Ugrian or Finnic race, and who occupy the greater part of the Valley of the Ob, and of whom also more presently.

Lastly, we have the Ostyaks of the Mouth of the Obi, who are Samoyedes, and are so called by all recent writers. These Samoyedes are confined to the Tundras bordering the Polar Sea and the country north of Obdorsk. Their land is divided into two portions by the Gulf of Obi; that on the west, known as Kamenaia, or the Highlands, extends westwards as far as the Karen Sea, where it touches the land of Poustozersk; that on the east, called Nisovaia, or the Lowlands, stretches from the Obi to the land of the Samoyedes of Jouraki.

In all this area the Samoyedes are found clinging to their natural habitat, the treeless moss that borders the Polar Sea.

Now, Pallas tells us ("*Voyages*," iv, 90) "that these Samoyedes assert that they came from the East, and this is confirmed by other facts. It coincides with what we have said of the Samoyedes of Archangel, who have also come from the East. The Ob Valley knows them not below Obdorsk, while in the great Tundra wastes of the Jenissei they are the predominant race. There can be small doubt, from the evidence collected by Wrangel, which I hope some time to digest and present to you, that the whole Arctic border land of Asia has encroached immensely on

the sea, making its climate much more severe, and also acquiring a fringe of treeless tundra, which the vagabond Samoyedes have naturally occupied.

I have no doubt that the strip of Samoyedic population that is found fringing the Polar Sea from the Jenissei to the White Sea has recently occupied that area, and has encroached chiefly upon a Finnic population, and I shall treat the Valley of the Jenissei as the frontier until recently between the Ostiaks proper and the Samoyedes.

The Ostiaks proper, or the Ugrian Ostiaks, are a very widely-diffused race. They occupy the whole Valley of the Obi, from below Obdorsk to where it forks into its two head-rivers, the Jrtysch and the Upper Obi. They occupy the banks of the former river to three days' journey below Tobolsk, where they lie next to the Siberian Turks, known as the Tatars of Tobolsk; they also occupy the Upper Obi. The Ostiaks are not a homogeneous race. According to Castrén (*op. cit.*, 100), there are found on the lower Ob many with a blonde complexion, who are very like the Siraniens in looks. Here are also to be found several names with Siranien etymologies — *e.g.*, names compounded with Kar, a town; Obdor Ob, the river; and Dor, Syranien for the furthest, etc. In the language of this district there are also to be found many words of Siranien and Permian origin. These facts are very interesting, because they explain to us a tradition given in the "Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'État présent de la Grande Russie," etc., Paris, 1725, ii, 173, and afterwards by Müller, which has caused some confusion in ethnography. According to this, the Ostiaks formerly lived in Great Permian, near Solkamskoy; but when the bishop (Stephen the Apostle) of those parts, in 1380 *et seq.*, tried to convert the Permians to Christianity, some of them accepted his message, but the rest emigrated to the other side of the Urals. This tradition is very reasonable, and is proved by the traces of Siranien mixture among the Ostiaks below Berezof; but it becomes ridiculous when it is attempted to derive the whole Ostiak population from these emigrants. The Ostiaks differ very materially from any of the Permian tribes, who, with the exception of those living on the Lower Ob, are pretty homogeneous. We have now explained the causes of this exceptional idiosyncrasy, and dated its first origin.

In proof that the Ostiaks are old occupants of the valley of the Ob, may be cited, *inter alia*, the fact quoted by Erman (Siberian Travels, i, 464. There is a very old larch in Beresof, fifty feet high. This tree was formerly an object of reverence to the Ostiaks, who hung about it offerings of various kinds. Among these were coins, which were carried into these remote

parts by Bokharian traders long before the Russian conquest of this country. These coins are still preserved as heirlooms in the remoter Ostiak yurts.

The Ostiaks are bounded on the west by the Voguls, who differ from them chiefly in being hunters, while the Ostiaks are fishermen. The Voguls call the Ostiaks Mansi, the very name they give themselves, so that they make no difference between the two races. Both are styled by the Siraniens Jograyas (Jogra in the singular), (Castren, *op. cit.*, 129). This latter fact is most interesting, and clears up their history very considerably.

Jugria, or Jugoria, is the name of a province of some note in Russian history. From it peltries and other rich products were conveyed into the grand dukedom, and its history has been examined at some length by Lehrberg (*Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der Altern Geschichte Russland*. St. Petersburg, 1816, iii, 4, and Castren, *op. cit.*, 93).

According to those authors, Jugria was bounded on the west by the Ural Mountains, on the south by the Siberian Tatars, on the east by the rivers Nadym, Agan, and Wash, and on the north by the Samoyedes. If what we have here said is true, we may extend the limits of Jugria to the Polar Sea, inasmuch as we hold the Samoyedes to be but very recent immigrants into their present country.

Although the Syraniens call both Voguls and Ostiaks Ugrians, the Russians have generally distinguished them; thus Herberstein *Rer. Moscow Comment.* p. 82, says: The Vuogulici and the Ugritzschi inhabit the river Oby, and in the several old accounts of the conquest of Jugria by the Russians relied upon by Karamzin, we have the same enumeration of its inhabitants as Vogulitzi and Ugritzi. As the languages, the traditions, and the customs of both are so nearly allied, the two names were probably of geographical meaning rather than ethnic.

The Voguls, according to Muller (*Ugrische Volkstamm*, i, 162, *et seq.*), have spread considerably of late; the Northern Urals are their primitive hunting-ground. Hence they have wandered, on the one hand, to the Kama, and on the other to the Tawda, the Tura, and the Irtysh in the east, and the Tschussowaja, in the south-west. Their name is probably to be recognised in the names of two rivers, the Vogulja, a tributary of the Sygma, and the Vogulka, which flows into the Obi, near Berezof. They bordered the Syraniens on the east, and as the occupation of the latter became contracted, their holding doubtless extended to the Kama. All the facts we know go to prove that the Voguls have moved from their old quarters, and have moved in a contrary direction to that required by the theory of Castrin.

In regard to the Ostiaks, our facts are fewer, but what we have have the same tendency. I will merely quote a striking one from the work of Müller already cited, p. 301. The Ostiaks of the Jenissei, and those bordering on the southern Samoyedes, call themselves Kondycho, *i.e.*, Dwellers on the Chondi or Konda. The Konda is a well-known western tributary of the Obi, which flows through a very typical land of the Ostiaks. So that those furthest-travelled among the Ostiaks must have come a long way from the north-west, if their name does not belie them.

We have thus shown that at an early date, namely, in the centuries preceding and up to the sixteenth century, the Samoyedes probably lived beyond the Obi altogether, and the Ural Mountains formed an important boundary, dividing two geographical provinces of some note, namely, Weliki Permia or Great Permia, and Jugria or Jugoria, dividing also two branches of the Finnic race, namely, the Carelian Finns, the Permians, and Syraniens, from the Voguls and Ostiaks; and, further, that the drift of these latter folk was from north and north-west, to south and south-east.

Having taken a survey of the ethnography of northern Russia and the country on either side of the Urals, I must now in conclusion direct attention to some of the interesting archæological questions which are involved in the subject, and which have been much overlooked in England. The manners and customs, the religion, language, and physical appearance of the tribes I have mentioned, are familiar enough from the accounts of many modern travellers. The important gap they filled in the distribution of the world-culture and wealth in former days are not so well known, nor have I got material for a thorough investigation of the question; but there are a good many isolated and buried facts which ought to interest this society.

I will begin with the Ugrian tribes who bordered the Polar Sea, and who occupied the Northern Urals and the Ob. Ebn Fozlan, the Arabic geographer, who is quoted by Yakut, tells us that the Bulgarians were bounded on the north by the nation called Vissu (*vide ante*). Among them the night in summer was only an hour long. The commerce between the Bulgarians and the Vissus was carried on after this wise. Each of the Bulgarian merchants deposited his merchandise, distinguished by his private mark, at a certain spot, and then retired. On his return he found placed by the side of each article some product of the country of the Vissus. If the merchant was satisfied, he took this in exchange, if not, he took back his own. The same mode of traffic was practised by the African tribes of the Soudan (*See* Cazvini and Bacouya in D'Ohsson's "Les Peuples du Caucase"), The Vissus were neighbours to the Youhras (*i.e.*,

Ugrians or Ostiaks, *vide ante*), who dwelt by the cloudy sea, where in summer the sun remained for forty days above the horizon, and in winter there were an equal number of nights of forty-eight hours. The Youhras had neither herds nor cultivated lands; they lived on fish and the products of the chase. The Bulgars sold them swords made by the Mahometans; they were simply rough pieces of iron direct from the forge, which, when hung by a thread, and struck, resounded loudly. The Youhras bought these at a great price. They cast them into the cloudy sea, and their god caused a fish big as a mountain to come out of the waves, pursued by a still larger fish, who wished to devour it. The first, in its haste to escape, was stranded, whereupon the hunters cut away at its flesh. Sometimes the tide took the fish out again, and enabled it to escape after a large quantity of flesh had been carved out of it. They said that unless they cast this sword into the water, no fish would come, and they would die of starvation.

This *naïve* relation of the old Arab traveller points clearly to a whale or narwhal fishery at the northern borders of the Ural chain. The story becomes more quaint as we proceed. Once one of these fish having got into the shallows in the Youhra country, the inhabitants passed a cord through its gills, and drew it ashore. Upon this there came out of one of its gills a young damsel of great beauty, who was of a rosy-white complexion, and had black hair. The Youhras placed her on the ground, but she struck her face and dragged her hair, crying pitiably meanwhile. God had made her a piece of skin like an apron, which covered her from her throat to her knees. She lived some time among the Youhras. They told other strange things about the country of the Youhras; thus it was said that when one of the former planted his foot in Bulgarian soil, the temperature at once fell even in the middle of summer, and became so cold that all the fruit perished. These traveller's tales reported by Cazvini and others are quaint, and they illustrate the sort of talk that was prevalent in the great markets of Bulgaria, and the general knowledge that the Arabs had of the distant polar regions before the eighteenth century.

Skins, salt-dried fish, and fish-roe and ivory (fossil and marine) were the chief products of these northern latitudes, which were eagerly bought by the Arab traders, and transported to the luxurious courts of Bagdad and Byzantium. The ivory suggests an interesting inquiry. A portion of it was fossil. Cazvini, Ibn Haoukal, and others, have some curious information about this. One of them mentions having seen immense teeth, two palms in width, and four in length, and skulls as large as Arab huts, and tusks like those of the elephant, white as snow,

and weighing two hundred menns. (These are clearly the mammoths' teeth still an object of traffic at Archangel and in Siberia.) The Arabs go on to say that these tusks were transported to Khorazm, the modern Khiva, where they were sold at great price, and that they were there converted into vases and other objects. This custom prevails still among the Samoyedes, Yakuts, and others. Ermann tells us (ii, 86) that the Samoyedes carve out of mammoths' teeth the ornaments for their sledges and drinking cups. The Jukajirs use slices of the horns of the fossil rhinoceros to line their bows with, *id.* 382. In the Christie collection may be seen elaborate figures and domestic objects, carved out of mammoth ivory by the Yakuts and Tunguses. This custom always seems to me to throw some doubt on the relative antiquity of those craftsmen whose carvings on mammoth ivory, etc., have been found in the French caverns. If, in the Reindeer period, France was as cold as Siberia, it is more than probable that carcasses of mammoths might survive on the banks of the Seine and the Thames, as they still do on those of the Lena. There is, further, no great difficulty in believing that what the Jakuts and the Esquimaux can do now in the way of drawing and sculpturing, could have been done by the French reindeer-folk, whose remains show them to have been quite equal in skill at least to the Esquimaux. This by the way only.

Besides the fossil ivory, there was also that derived from the walrus and the narwhal, out of which so many Norse relics were carved. Now, among the presents sent by the great Khaliph Harun al Raschid to Charlemagne, were the horn of a unicorn and a griffon's claw. These were long among the greatest curiosities at St. Denis. The former was made the subject of an elaborate inquiry, written at the Hague in 1646—*See Churchill's Travels*, 387, in which it is said that this horn was altogether like a similar one at Copenhagen, and that the Danes are of opinion that all those kinds of horns found in Muscovy, Germany, Italy, and France, came from Denmark. The Danes sold these horns as unicorn horns The horn at St. Denis had the same root as the rest, hollow and worm-eaten at the end, like a rotten tooth. "This being granted," says the writer, "as it is really true, I will positively assert it to be a tooth fallen out of the jaw-bone of the same fish known in Iceland by the name of narwhal, and that consequently it is no horn" (see *op. cit.*).

In regard to the griffon's claw, it is a curious fact that a writer in the Bulletin of the St. Petersburg Academy, in discussing the griffons, makes out that the so-called claws are the horns of the Siberian rhinoceros. This is confirmed by Ermann,

who tells us the natives mistake these horns for the claws of a gigantic bird (see very curious account in Ermann's travels, ii, 86, 380). So that the presents sent by Harun al Raschid were no doubt a portion of the spoil which his emissaries and traders had bought at Bolghari, or some other mart of the Volga and Kama, and had come from the country of the Youhras, at once a proof of the energy of the Arabs in their prosperous days, and an explanation of much mediæval romance. This ivory was doubtless also exported by the Norse traders from the ports of Biarmia, and was used by them in carving the chessmen, caskets, etc., of which examples are still extant. In regard to the chessmen, a large number of which were found in Lewes, and are now in the British Museum, it is curious that in an account of Iceland, written by M. la Peyrere in 1644, published in the same collection of travels, it is mentioned that the Icelanders were still great chess-players, "there being not a peasant in the country but what has a set of it, which they make themselves out of fish-bones; the whole difference betwixt theirs and ours being only that our fools stand for their bishops, because they say the clergymen ought to be near the king's person. Their rooks represent little captains, whence the Iceland scholars call them Centuriones. They are represented with swords on their sides, with bloated cheeks, and as if they were blowing the horns they hold in both hands." This account agrees wonderfully with the actual relics from Lewes left there by some ancient Norse freebooter.

We mentioned Biarmia. This suggests a few words about the Finn culture in old days. Here I shall have recourse again to Geiger. They were the great miners of the North and East. "The preparation of marsh iron was known to them from an early period; for marsh ore (myrmalin), which our ancestors called gräsjern, the Finns have a native appellation—hölmä. Iron in the Finnic and Lappic is called ranta-route, and the hundred of Rantalambi in Finland has its name from ranta and lammi, lake or marsh, *i.e.*, from marsh iron: an old Finnish Rune called Rantan syntty, sings of the birth of iron. In the Fennic tongue every handicraftsman is called a smith (seppä), and Finnish swords are mentioned in the Icelandic sagas. The most famous smith known to the ancient North, and celebrated in the Edda, is the son of a Swedish king on the borders of Smithiod; and in later times the Finns retained the praise of excelling in the labours of the forge" (Geiger: Hist. of Sweden, 29). Not only do they excel in iron manufacture, but also in the making of trinkets out of other metals. The Finns of Dalecarlia are great miners; both silver and tin are worked by them, and I have small doubt that the Norsemen, who loved agricul-

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